THE INTEREST OF THE Princes & States OF EUROPE.

To which is added,

OBSERVATIONS

On a Letter Written by the

D. of *B*----

AS ALSO,

The Worlds Miſtake IN *OLIVER CROMWELL.*

By *SLINGSBY BETHEL*, Eſq;

The Third Edition.

LONDON,
Printed for *George Grafton* at the *Mitre* in *Fleet-ſtreet* near *Temple-Bar*, 1689.

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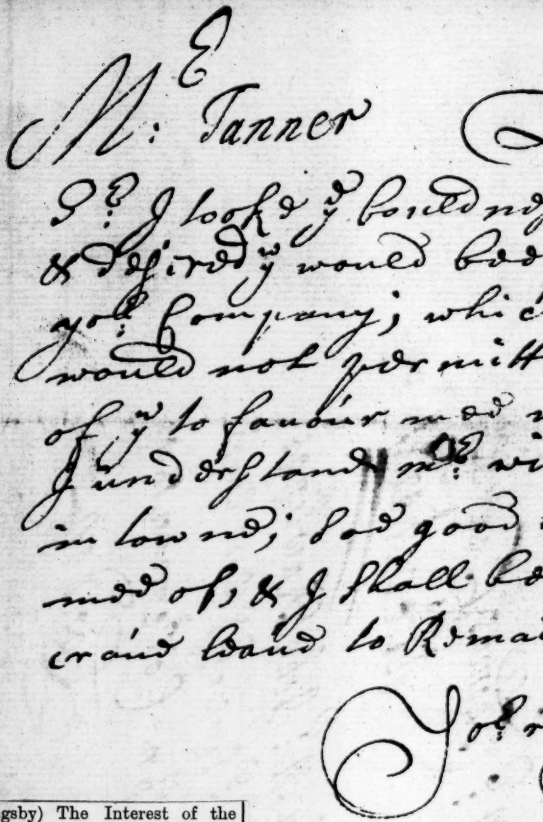

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London ye 3 Septemb 1682

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Simgisby Bethell

THE

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OF THE

Princes & States

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THE PREFACE.

INtereſt, is a word of ſeveral definitions, but that which in Creatures, having reaſon or ſenſe, is preſervation and propagation, is that in a State, which I mean by Intereſt; and this is either Domeſtick looking inward, as relating to the particular frame and kind of Government, or Foreign looking outwards, as regarding ſuch alterations abroad, as may be of good or evil conſequence to a State; and ſuch counſels, deliberations, or actions, as may improve good, or prevent evil, are according to the Intereſt of a Nation, and the contrary againſt it. And taking the words thus, the proſperity, or adverſity, if not the life and death of a State, is bound up in the obſerving or neglecting its Intereſt.

For as no Country was ever unhappy,

that followed it, ſo none ever proſpered (except by chance) that forſook or miſſed it; and conſequently, it is matter of the greateſt concernment to a Prince, to ſtudy, and make himſelf Maſter of it, that in keeping his Counſellors in awe, by his own knowledge and experience, in matters of State, he may have his affairs the better and faithfuller proſecuted; but in ſearching for his Intereſt, he ought to be exceeding careful, of not being miſled by former Examples, which are to Politicians, as of old, the Stars to Navigators, rightly underſtood, the beſt Guide, and miſtaken, the moſt dangerous.

For Intereſt in all Countreys is changeable, that which was in one Age, not being always the ſame in the next, as the Crowns of Spain *and* France *do ſufficiently evince. For* Spain *being by corruption in Counſellors, and Miniſters of State, fraud, oppreſſion, and couſenage in Officers and Servants, with perſecution in the Church, and ſeverity in Government, cauſing ſeveral Revolts, brought at this time low, and into a languiſh-*

languiſhing condition, the Intereſt of the European *Princes, is changed from that of being againſt the Houſe of* Auſtria, *and for* France, *to that of being for It, and againſt* France, *the latter being at preſent, under more than ſuſpicion, that having now got the advantage of* Spain, *they intend to improve it to an univerſal Monarchy, as* Spain *formerly deſigned.*

But as a Prince ought to be ſtudious in diſcovering of his Intereſt, ſo to be ſolicitous in examining the Integrity of Counſels given him, leſt by corrupt Counſellors, he ſhould be put (for private ends) upon deſigns prejudicial, if not contrary and deſtructive to the Intereſt of his Countrey. And becauſe the wiſdom, or defects of Princes, appears much in their choice of Counſellors and Miniſters of State (who under them, are the managers of their Intereſts) there ought to be in the Election of ſuch, a ſpecial Eye to their Principles, as well as abilities, avoiding with care, all avaricious perſons, as men, who for advantage, will upon all occaſions, forſake

and desert all fidelity, the chief ingredient of a good Counsellor. For when men have parts without honesty, they are but the greater instruments of mischief; and we find that little more than common parts assisted with integrity, industry, and diligence, have done, and do the greatest things in the world: Nay, that ordinary parts, with such qualifications, do more than the sublimest without them, the art of Government not being so mysterious, as State Monopolists would make it, honesty (as King James *used to say) being the best policy, and surely that is the best Government, that provides most for the imployment of the Honestest men.*

For as no State can flourish, where their Interest is not pursued, so publick Interest will never be the Rule, where Counsellors are not faithful; and when publick Principles do not govern men, private Interest will, and render their Country as Merchandize for the highest Chapman; so that although the Notion, that Interest cannot lye, is true, yet it is not (in Subjects) singly to be trusted.

For

For ſince private, worldly, and carnal Intereſt (which in perſons wanting honeſty is alwayes mercenary) may be changed by the bribing bounty of other Princes, or States; it is a great Error in thoſe, underſtanding their Intereſt, to rely upon their Counſellors, or Officers, without examining, whether their Counſels and Actions are purſuant of, and conſonant to their Intereſt; or yet in great truſts, to preſume upon any other qualifications in Counſellors, and Civil and Military Miniſters, than either truly religious, or truly honourable moral principles, which cannot change, as private ſimple Intereſt, not bottomed upon the one, or the other principle, will ſurely do according to the greatneſs of temptations.

And therefore, as upon good or bad Counſellors, and Miniſters, depends the happineſs or infelicity of a Prince, and State, Sir Walter Rawleigh *affirming, that a Commonwealth is more ſecure where the Prince is not good, than where the Miniſters are bad; ſo they cannot ſhew more wiſdom, than in ſignally*

ſignally rewarding, and incouraging the former, and exemplarily puniſhing the latter. I know that Counſels are not always to be judged of, according to ſucceſs, it being poſſible, that honeſt and well grounded Counſels may miſcarry, and to puniſh men in ſuch caſes, were to diſcourage the ableſt and moſt virtuous Perſons from ſerving of their Prince or State; but ſometimes deſigns are written in ſuch large characters of ſelfiſhneſs and corruption, the foundation of them being laid in lies and forgeries, as is legible to every impartial Eye; and when ſuch appears, by a true diſcovery upon inquiry, the Criminals ought to be made examples to poſterity.

Formerly the affairs of Chriſtendom were ſuppoſed to be chiefly ſwayed by the two great powers of Auſtria (*wherein* Spain *is underſtood*) *and* France: *from whom other Princes and States derived their Peace and War, according to the ſeveral parties they adhered unto. But now the puiſſance of the former being ſo much abated, that it deſerves no rank above its Neighbours,* France *of the two,*

two, remains the only formidable Potentate, of whoſe greatneſs, all Princes and States are as much concerned to be jealous, as formerly they were of that of Auſtria.

For, conſidering the French *King, in relation to* France, *ſtored with good Officers, Men, Money, and Ammunition, to his ſeveral augmentations gained from all his Neighbours, by conqueſt, exchange, or purchaſe (as from* Spain, Italy, Germany, Lorrain, *and the* Spaniſh Netherlands*) giving him free paſſage into their ſeveral Dominions, and to his preſent Naval ſtrength, increaſed lately by an unhappy accident* *, *he is accommodated for any Deſign his ambition ſhall prompt him to, or at leaſt, ſhould the ſickly and weak young King of* Spain *die childleſs, to diſpute uncontroulably, his right to all the Countreys in* Europe *belonging to that Crown, as alſo to contend for the Imperial dignity, ſhould he ſurvive the preſent Emperour, if he ſtays till then: and if his aims may be gueſſed at by the writings of his Subjects,*

* The late Dutch War.

jects, which are commonly the transcripts or presages of their Princes sence and mind, he pretends to all the Lands, lying on his side the River Rhein, *as belonging to the ancient Kingdom of* Austratia, *(his supposed inheritance) which caused a learned man of* Strasbourg *(who suspected their Commonwealth to be struck at) to maintain in writing (some few years past) the Rights of their City against all pretenders. And thus upon the whole, considering* France *furnished with a King, not wanting high thoughts or activity, less cannot be expected from him, than to design an universal Monarchy, which consequently makes it the Common Interest of all* European *Princes and States (as they value their own safety) to unite, for the keeping of him within bounds and limits.*

And now as England *is not the least in the general concern of* Europe, *and because seated by it self, and divided by the Sea from all other Nations, I shall begin with it.*

Adver-

Advertiſement TO THE READER.

ALL theſe Diſcourſes ſave the laſt, being the reſult of the obſervations made by the Author long ago, in the time of his Travels, and writ ſome Years ſince: If the Reader ſhall find any diſcrepancy therein to the preſent Times, either in the Age, or Deceaſe of Princes, or other perſons, or in ſome little Change in Territories, Affairs, or Governments, he is deſired to impute the ſame to the Mutations, which have ſince happened in ſeveral Kingdoms and States, and not to the Authors Neglect or overſight, who hath throughout, with all Integrity, endeavoured nothing but

but Truth in matter of Fact. And he doth reasonably hope, that those Alterations which will be found, are not so material, as to lessen the value of the Deductions and Conclusions, which are offered by this Treatise.

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THE

THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND STATED.

HOlding it neceſſary in the Diſcourſing of *England*, to conſider its Domeſtick, and Foreign Intereſt ſeverally; I ſhall obſerve that Method, and handle them diſtinctly, beginning with the firſt.

The Iſle of Great *Britain*, of which *England* is the moſt conſiderable part, and that which is chiefly taken notice of in the World, having the advantage of an Iſland, in being divided from all other Countries, by the Ocean, Narrow and Northern Seas, is not ſubject to thoſe incurſions that Contiguous Countries are, not being in danger from abroad whilſt its Naval ſtrength is preſerved, by keeping their ſhipping in good repair, and their Marriners incouraged by good uſage. Neither is it fit for Foreign acquiſitions, in regard of the uncertainty of wind and weather, and chargeableneſs of tranſportation; but contenting themſelves with the bounds that providence hath given them, making it their deſign to improve

their advantage for trade, to increaſe their greatneſs at home, is their firſt Domeſtick Intereſt; for as ſelf-defence is the chief intereſt of every Creature, Natural or Politick, and as without trade, no Nation can be formidable, eſpecially at Sea, nor able to maintain a ſufficient Naval-guard, or defend themſelves againſt their powerful Neighbours; ſo Trade muſt be the principal intereſt of *England*.

And this Nature, ſeems to admoniſh them unto, prohibiting their affecting Foreign Conqueſts, by placing them with advantages as they are an Iſland, Firſt, for preſervation, and without much for augmentation.

Secondly, for viewing the actions of their Neighbours, and qualifying them with might and ſtrength ſufficient to render them Arbitrators in their differences.

And thirdly, for advancing both their Home, and Foreign Traffick, in endowing them with Natural helps for Trade beyond all other Countries: As with plenty of ſtaple Commodities, incompaſſing them with profitable and rich Seas, convenient and ſafe Havens and Bays, bold Coaſts, Rivers and good Ports, all affording matter of encouragement for Foreign Commerce, incomparable means in their many Harbours for increaſing their Navigation, and great invitations to ſtrangers to make uſe of theſe advantages in trading with the Country.

And yet beſides theſe Natural helps, *England* hath further the advantage of all other Countries, in ſome cuſtoms and practices: As in that of breeding the younger Sons of Gentlemen, and ſometimes of the Nobility, to the Miniſtery, Law, Trade, and Phyſick, without prejudice to their Gentility, their

their Heralds not requiring ſo much as any reſtauration in ſuch Caſes; although it frequently falls out, that Gentlemen, during their Apprentiſhips to Trades, come, by the death of their Elder Brothers, to be Baronets, and ſometimes Barons. In which particular, *England* may well be ſaid to come neareſt unto antient Prudence, and right Reaſon, of all other Nations. For if no Country can be rich or flouriſh without Trade, as indiſputably it cannot, nor be more or leſs conſiderable, but according to the proportion it hath of Commerce; and that antiently men were eſteemed, honoured and dignified according to the benefit and commodity their Country had received by them; the Traders of a Nation ought to be moſt encouraged, and Trade counted the moſt honourable of all profeſſions.

Secondly, by their greateſt Nobility marrying with all degrees, where fortunes anſwer their qualities.

Thirdly, in his Majeſties Prerogative, for dignifying men of acquired Eſtates, as he ſees cauſe.

And fourthly, in that the ſingle poſſeſſion of Eſtates, renders in reputation the owners of them Gentlemen, all being vaſt benefits to the Nation, (which other Countries are ſtrangers unto) in preventing idleneſs in their numerous Gentry, and incouraging induſtry in all ſorts of people. In *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, it is eſteemed below the quality of a Gentleman, to be bred to either Trade, Law, Miniſtry, or Phyſick; (except that among the Papiſts, ſome are bred to the Church to get great Eſtates, that leaving no known poſterity, they may thereby advance their Families, as they many times do in

Germany, *Italy*, and other places.) Neither will the greateſt fortunes tempt them to marry into the Families of any of theſe Callings, they chuſing to live miſerably, as many of them do, rather than to match under their degree, or at leaſt, not into ſuch, as they eſteem noble.

And indeed, they cannot well do otherwiſe without danger of degradation, one of the reaſons for the depoſition of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, Uncle to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, being the undervaluing himſelf in his marriage; and if the Emperour, or *Northern* Kings, confer honours upon any of their Subjects, not of antient deſcent, they ſeldome laſt longer in eſteem, than the firſt Generation, the Families of theſe Countries being ſo ſtated, as makes it almoſt impoſſible, upon any account to introduce a new laſting Race of Gentility, ſave that in *Sweden* they have in theſe latter ages allowed a general command in their Armies, the faithful and prudent diſcharging the employment of an Ambaſſador extraordinary, or the election into the Senate, (which conſiſts of 40 perſons) to be a good original of new Nobility or Gentry.

In the United *Netherlands*, the Gentlemen are much upon the ſame punctilio's, except that in Marriage (for good fortunes) they would mix; but that the trading party, not valuing Gentility without proportionable Eſtates, ſeldome, or never, willingly do it. And from hence it is (in a great part) that *Gelderland*, and *Overyſſel*, two Provinces that abound in number of Gentry, are ſo poor, whilſt *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frieſland*, (the firſt, and laſt, having few antient Gentry, and the ſecond, none but the Prince of *Orange*) are ſo rich.

France is not ſo ſtrictly tyed up by theſe rules, as the preceeding Countreys are, their Nobility marrying any where for money, as the Nieces of the laſt great Cardinal ſhews; beſides that they allow of Eſtates got by Trade, to be laudable Foundations for new raiſed Families, in both which principles they are ſurely wiſe, and thrive the better, whileſt other Countreys are kept low by their contrary Practices; for were it not for the benefit that that Country reaps by the incouragement which is given there unto Trade, it were impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt under their great burthens; but no people comes ſo near the *Engliſh*, in the chief of theſe circumſtances, as the wiſe *Venetians*, *Genoueſers*, *Luceſers*, and the *Florentines*, who all allowing the exerciſe of Traffick in their Nobility and Gentry, reap the benefit of ſuch Prudence, as appears in the three firſt exceeding their Neighbours much, in proſperity and wealth, and the Prince and people of the laſt, being abundantly the better by it; for were it not for their principle of Commerce, incouraged by ſome Liberty in Conſcience, connived at in *Leghorne* (the only Port-Town of Trade under that Prince) the people would be as poor, as they are thin, not able to live under the ſeverity of that Government. But if theſe inſtances be not ſufficient to prove the profit that accrews unto a Countrey by a trading Gentry, there needs no further travelling for demonſtration, than *England*, where before the reformation of Religion, that Gentlemen had idle Convents to put their younger Sons into, Trade was there ſo ſmall, that the Cuſtoms amounted not to 10000 *l. per an.* whereas they are

now, or have been lately, more than fifty times as much; which proves,

Firſt, the advantage that Trade brings both to King and People;

And Secondly, that Trade hath been much increaſed, by taking younger Brothers off from their ſloathful way of living, and applying them with their Patrimonies to Trade and Commerce. The experience of this may reprove thoſe who both in * diſcourſe, and writing, plead for the vain ancient cuſtom of Idleneſs, in the younger Brothers of *England*, as if they preferred being their eldeſt Brothers Servants, with the priviledge of filling up the lower end of their Tables, before the preſent laudable practice, and incumbent duty of induſtry, inabling them to live in equality with their eldeſt Brothers.

* State *of* England, *pag.* 434, 435, 436.

And ſurely, it is the glory, and not the ſhame of *England* (as our new pretenders to Politicks would have it) that by Commerce they have made themſelves ſo formidable in the World, whilſt all other *Northern* Countreys (the United *Netherlands* as to their Gentry not excepted) by their ſuperſtitious adhering to their old cuſtoms, are ſo inconſiderable. And certain it is, that *England* could not have had thoſe great things to have boaſted of at Sea, as now they have; nor could they ſtand before their Neighbours, were it not for Traffick, which is the only thing that makes a Countrey rich, —— Law, and Phyſick, by great Fees, and corrupt practice, having a great ſhare in impoverſhing this Nation, but none in the inriching of it, fees to both Profeſſions being in all other Countries very moderate, compared with *England*;

England: a Phyſitian, in no other place, having for a viſit above 18*d. ſter.* except at *Venice*, where it is 2*s.* 6*d.* and in ſome places, as at *Newport*, and *Liſle*, in *Flanders*, &c. but 6 *d.* and even at *Amſterdam*, and at *Antwerpen*, the firſt equal to any place for wealth, and the latter next conſiderable, not above 12 Stivers, (by the richeſt Citizens, and half as much by the lower ſort) which is about 13*d.* and Lawyers 2*s.*6 *d.* for their opinion, and as much an hour, for a buſineſs that requires long conſultation and work, much of their pleading being caſt into that price; ſo that *England* may be reckoned to exceed in their fees to both profeſſions, from 10. to 20. times the rates of other Countreys. But if the benefit of Commerce be not ſufficient to convince the Enemies of Trading Gentlemen, peradventure the impoſſibility of reducing the Gentry and Nobility of *England*, to the mode of other Countreys, without utter ruine to them, may do it, and therefore they may do well to conſider, that to anſwer other Countries in their Rules,

Firſt, All the Families of the Gentry muſt be ſo ſtated, as that no way (not even by deſert) may be left for increaſing the number of them.

Secondly, None deſcended from them, either Males or Females, muſt marry any but ſuch as are of thoſe Families; whereas with us a Yeoman, or one who is no Gentleman, marrying one that is a Baroneſs by Inheritance, the eldeſt Son of ſuch a Bed inherits all the Titles deſcended upon his Mother from her Anceſtors.

Thirdly, None of their Sons muſt be bred to any Callings, either the Miniſtry, Law, or Phyſick; nay, nor be Court-Officers, except ſuch as

they account Noble: (which are not many, Secretaries not being in that number) they reckoning all Callings a debaſement of Gentility, as well as Trade; and he that marries with the Daughter of any perſon of a Calling, to deſerve the puniſhment of degradation; And therefore, ſhould Trade be maintained in *England*, in ſuch a way, as the riches got by it would remain in the Trading party, the Gentry would conſequently be poor, compared with the Trading Families; and as honour and reſpect will follow Eſtates, ſo the Gentry would be little regarded, whilſt the Traders would carry away all Intereſt and eſteem in their Countries, as the Trading-Families of *Holland* do at preſent, from the poor Gentry of *Gelderland* and *Overyſſel*, two Provinces of the United *Netherlands*.

But if theſe new Statiſts ſhall ſtill deſire the want of Trade, with poverty, rather than riches, with the practice of that they call the Debaſement of Gentility, they ought farther to conſider, that the Caſe of *England* is not the ſame with other Northern Nations; for *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, being all upon the ſame Principle, of deſpiſing Trade in their Gentry, are alike poor, wanting Commerce, and ſo under the leſs danger one of another: But *England*, having rich and potent Neighbours, Trade is abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation, in rendring them equal in power, both at Sea and Land, to their great and opulent emulators; ſo that in true *Engliſh*, they that plead for leſs plenty in the People of *England*, do no leſs in effect (though in Charity I will hope they think not ſo) than argue for expoſing them as a prey to their Enemies.

But theſe principles are not ſtrange in them, who

in

in pleading for keeping the people low, ſeem to have loſt all Natural affection to their Countrey, in accuſing the Commons (by which I ſuppoſe is meant the Yeomandry of *England*, who, without oſtentation, may be called the beſt of their kind in the World, the Peaſants of other Countries being Brutes in Religion, good Nature and Civility, compared to them) of being the courſeſt Bran, and the worſt of People, *&c.* ſaying, they are ſo diſtaſtful to their Gentry, that they wiſh their Countrey leſs plentiful, or more burthened with Taxes, as the way to refine the manners of the Common people. *State of* England, *pag.* 60, 61, 62.

But although the Competitors with *England* in Trade, may be glad of having a Confeſſion of Pride, Inſolence, and ill Conditions in the *Engliſh*, from one of themſelves, to make uſe of abroad, for their own advantage, and to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* Nation; yet if it be believed by any that know *England*, they muſt have changed their obſervations of it, that people having never lain under ſuch a cenſure untill now, that it is untruly, maliciouſly, and imprudently clapped upon them, by, I may ſay, a degenerate Countrey man, who, in his reproaches, ſheweth little of that natural affection, that every one oweth to the Land of their Nativity, nor ſuitableneſs to the Care his Majeſty and Council take for promoting Trade, by ſeveral Councils appointed to that end: but what uſe ſoever Foreigners may make of theſe accuſations againſt the *Engliſh* Traders and Merchants in other Countreys, I ſuppoſe the new Philoſophy of Poverty, and the tranſplantation of all Non-Conformiſts, *State of* England.

called

called the Sons of *Belial*, (the ready way to penury) being beſt for a Nation, will have but few Diſciples; for though all is thought to be made good, by accuſing the People of *England* of want of that humble reſpect and awful reverence to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, that is due to them, thoſe to whom the Commons of *England* are not ſtrangers, know that they are not wanting in good nature, or due obſervance to any of the three Orders, where there is Juſtice, and not Oppreſſion, in the two firſt, nor Cruelty, Ignorance, Profaneneſs, or Debauchery in the laſt; for although Greatneſs may procure Fear, nothing but Virtue, Honeſty, and Juſtice, can Love, and true Reverence. It may well be queſtioned, who it is, that the men of theſe principles aim to gratifie by them? for nothing can be more prejudicial to his Majeſty, than publickly to maintain that Plenty in his people, is inconſiſtent with peace and good Order in his Government, or that reducing the people to a complaining condition, is the way to make them happy, as this Gentleman inſinuates.

This ſeeming digreſſion is neceſſitated, for Trade being the true and chief intrinſick Intereſt of *England*, without which it cannot ſubſiſt, thus much could not well be avoided, in the making out, that as well by ſome Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms, as by its Native Commodities and Conveniencies, it ſo far excels all other Kingdoms and Common-wealths in worldly advantages; that Providence may be ſaid to have left nothing more for the people of *England* to do, in order to their earthly felicity, than deſiring of it; the matter of Trade being naturally ſo prepared and fitted for them, that it may even be a reproach to them, not

to

to advance Trade, though no great glory to do it; nothing, except ſome accidents extraordinary, or violent obſtructions, (as impoſing upon Conſcience, *&c.*) or want of good Laws, or the execution of them, being capable of hindering the increaſe of it.

And now, as from the growth of Trade there doth naturally ariſe, not alone riches to the Subject, rendring a Nation conſiderable, but alſo increaſe of revenue, and therein power and ſtrength to the Soveraign; ſo it is the undoubted Intereſt of his Majeſty, to advance and promote Trade, by removing all obſtructions, and giving it all manner of incouragement.

As Firſt, By leſſening the over-great impoſitions upon Native Commodities, and upon ſuch as are neceſſarily imported to be manufactured in *England*, or to be again tranſported.

Secondly, By cauſing the Native Commodities to be faithfully and truly made, and ordered.

Thirdly, By laying all Companies open, or at leaſt, by leaving them free, for all to come into them that pleaſe, without fines, more than a ſmall acknowledgment, tying them in ſuch caſe, from burthening their own Manufactures with Taxes, as they uſually do for the raiſing money to ſpend profuſely and wantonly. What objections may be made againſt this general rule, in reference to the *Eaſt-India*'s Joynt-Stock, I know not; but this I am ſure may be ſaid for it, that the *Hollanders*, driving their *Eaſt-India* Trade by a Joynt-Stock, is no argument for *England* to do the ſame: for they having by the publick purſe of the Company, purchaſed and conquered ſeveral Countreys and petty Kingdoms, which ingageth them often in Wars with

with their Neighbours, and neceſſitateth them to keep up a ſtanding Militia of 30 or 40000 men, with many Garriſons, and 100 or more Ships, equipped as well for Men of War at Sea, as for Merchants uſe; the carrying on of ſuch a Government, and defraying the charge of it, is no otherwiſe feaſible, than by a Society and Joynt Stock, the maintaining of their propriety being impracticable by an open Trade; but the caſe not being the ſame with *England*, they having nothing in propriety, ſave the inſignificant Caſtle of St. *George*, upon the Coaſt of *Cormandel*, and the little Iſland of *Bombe*, given them lately by the King, their Trade being all by Factories, there is not that reaſon nor neceſſity upon them, for a Joynt-Stock, as upon *Holland*: and Societies, in reſtraining the number both of Buyers of the Native, and Sellers of Foreign Commodities, muſt conſequently tend to the abating the price of the firſt, and inhancing the rate of the latter, nothing being more plain to reaſon, than that the fewer buyers of Native Commodities, the cheaper they muſt be, as the fewer ſellers of Foreign, the dearer they muſt be; and that which abateth the price of Native Commodities, and raiſeth the price of Foreign, muſt be againſt the Intereſt of a Nation: and therefore the *Netherlanders*, who certainly underſtand the Intereſt of Trade, equal to any people living, though by making the Intereſt of Trade, matter of State, they have an eye of regulation upon it, yet admit of no reſtraining Companies, as in *England*, except in their *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trades, where they have great poſſeſſions in propriety.

Fourthly, By carefully protecting Merchants abroad,

abroad, from the wrongs and injuries of other Nations.

Fifthly, By making the transferring Bills of debt good in Law, it being a great advantage to Traders (eſpecially to young men of ſmall Stocks) to be able to ſupply themſelves with money, by the ſale of their own Bills of Debt.

Sixthly, By conſtituting a Court Merchant, after the example of other Countreys, to prevent tedious and chargeable Sutes in Law, taking men off from their buſineſs, and in making the advancement and protection of Trade, matter of State.

Seventhly, By having Regiſters of all Real Eſtates, as is profitably practiſed in other Countries, and in this, within the Mannor of *Taunton Dean*, which in a natural way, will abate the Intereſt of money, and make Purchaſes certain; for it is no little prejudice and blemiſh to *England*, that of all the Countries in *Europe*, there is none, where Purchaſers, or Lenders of mony upon Land, are upon ſuch uncertainty in their dealings, as in *England*.

Eighthly, By taking away all priviledges (except of Parliament) from perſons and places, tending to the defrauding Creditors of their debts, and extending the Statute of Bankrupts againſt all perſons not Trading, as well as Traders, it being but equal Juſtice, that all men ſhould be alike liable to the payment of their debts.

Ninthly, Banks (not Bankers, but) ſuch as are in uſe at *Venice*, *Amſterdam*, and *Hamburgh*, where the ſeveral States are ſecurity, keeping particular accounts of *Caſh*, for all men deſiring it, are of great advantage to Merchants and Traders, in ſecuring their monies from many caſualties, and making

making receipts and payments ſpeedy and eaſie; beſides, ſo certain, without the danger of loſing acquittances, or by death, or otherwiſe to be in want of Witneſſes, as takes away all occaſions of ſuits about them, Bank-accounts being allowed for undeniable teſtimonies in Law; but of theſe, I confeſs there are no thriving and flouriſhing examples, ſave under Republicks.

Tenthly, The making Free Ports (which *England* of all Countries in *Europe*, is moſt proper for) giving liberty to Strangers, as well as Natives, upon payment of a ſmall duty, to keep Magazins of goods ready for tranſportation to other Countries, according to the encouragement of Markets abroad, are great increaſers of Trade and Navigation, and ſo of riches; as appears, not only by *Holland*, which is a Common-wealth, but alſo by St. *Maloes*, under the Monarchy of *France*, and *Leghorn*, under that of *Tuſcany*; the firſt, for its bigneſs, which contains but thirty ſix Acres of ground, being the richeſt City in *France*; and the latter, the only place in that Princes Dominions, which, compared to former times, can truly be ſaid to flouriſh.

Eleventhly, Making buſineſs at the ſeveral Offices for Cuſtom and Exciſe, and in all other places, as eaſie, and as little vexatious as may be, in employing ſuch perſons of honeſty, integrity, and diſcretion, as will not abuſe their truſts, no more in inſolency than falſeneſs, is a great encouragement to Traders; as alſo, making paſſing in and out of the Countrey by Strangers and Travellers, untroubleſome, is a motive and inducement to them, to ſatisfie their curioſity in viſiting the Kingdom, and ſpending their money in it.

For

For to object, that the incivilities travellers meet with in going in, and coming out of *France*, hinders no reſort thither, is more than can be proved; beſides that, admit it is not, yet the like uſage in any other Country would be a prejudice to it, and would be ſurely ſo to *France*, were it not the humour at preſent of this giddy Age, to run a madding after them; and certainly, the facility that is in doing buſineſs in *Holland*, and the unmoleſted egreſs and regreſs that Strangers and Travellers meet with there, is a great benefit to them.

Twelfthly, Would the Trading Corporations chuſe after the example of *London*, and according to their own Intereſts, and reaſon of their inſtitution, their members for Parliament out of themſelves, the Intereſt of Trade would probably be better underſtood, and faithfullier proſecuted than it is; and it cannot but be a prejudice to Commerce, that they generally ſend Courtiers, Country-Gentlemen, or their Recorders, to Parliament, who will be ſure to prefer their particular Intereſt before that of Trade, it being natural to all men to ſeek their own profit, before that of others.

Thirteenthly, As *England* hath ſome beneficial Cuſtoms, which other Countries are ſtrangers unto, ſo it hath others, as prejudicial, not known to Foreign Governments; as the great expences of Corporations, undoing many Citizens and Townſmen; a Freeman of *York*, or *Southampton*, not being able to go through all their Offices, according to Cuſtom and expectation, in the firſt, under ſeven or eight hundred pound; and the latter, ſix or ſeven hundred; which may well be

judged

judged one cause, why *York* is so poor, and the other thrives no better; and the like observation may be made of the most of the other Corporations: The great charge of Sheriffs of the Counties hath decayed, if not ruined many Families, and the expence of Barristers, at their Readings, is a provocation to them, to increase their sharking, and growing upon the people; all which bad effects are to be wished were remedied, so far as taking away these unnecessary expences will do it: And even *London* is not herein to be excused.

For first, Whereas nothing tends more to the advancement of a people, than living under wise and honest Governours, the charge of their Sheriffs will for ever (so long as that expence is continued) necessitate the having an Eye in their Elections, more to Wealth than Virtue. And *Amsterdam* makes good this assertion; for as in the choice of their Magistrates, Merit is chiefly aimed at, kindred and riches having little influence; so they reap the benefit of such prudence in being best governed of all those Cities, and flourishing beyond compare.

Secondly, their levying money upon particular persons, by chusing such for Sheriffs, as they presume have no Estates to hold, and must therefore Fine at near the twentieth part of what they are worth, which may be repeated once a Year, so long as the parties live, and cannot swear not to be worth ten thousand pounds, is an unequal way of raising money; some escaping all their days, that have two or three times the Estates of those that are forced to Fine: and to cure this evil, the best way (as I conceive) is by Sheriffs laying

laying down the profuſe and unneceſſary expences of their Shrievalties, according to the example of the Countries, it being a ſoleciſm in politicks, not practiſed any where but in *England*, that whilſt ſome by Offices of little attendance and ſervice, get vaſt Eſtates, others by Offices of drudgery, are by great expences ruined.

And thirdly, the City hath one rule, the reaſon of which is not to be underſtood, (*viz.*) that whereas one choſen Sheriff before Alderman, may free himſelf by making Oath that he is not worth ten thouſand pounds, yet if firſt choſen Alderman, he is deprived of that liberty, as to that Magiſtracy, and when afterwards he comes to be choſen Sheriff, muſt hold, Fine, or go to Priſon, though not worth a Groat, as hath often fallen out.

But beſides this, the adminiſtration of ſome of the Fraternities in *London*, ſtand in more need of reformation than that of the City; for whereas the Primitive Inſtitution of moſt of them, was for regulating and improving mechanical Arts and Myſteries, now by mixing in the ſame Societies the more generous and free Trades and Callings, the original reaſon of their Incorporations is totally loſt, many of the Trades, of which the Companies bear the name, not being looked after, nor indeed any thing elſe to ſpeak of, beſides managing their Revenues, and providing for eating and drinking: For the maintenance of which they are often very burthenſom to men in years of mean Eſtates, as well as to young Traders of ſmall beginnings, by impoſing upon them greater Fines for their Liveries, (not allowing the Plea of inability, as their Charter obligeth) vain un-

neceſſary Feaſts, and not holding of Offices, than they are well able to bear, or indeed holds any proportion with the charge of the Offices, the Fines being in ſome Companies four times as much as the charge of the Offices comes to; whereas other Corporations make their fines, not above a fourth, or fifth part of the charge of the Office, as in *London*, for the fine of a Sheriff, *&c.* that chuſing ſuch, as they ſuppoſe will not or upon ſeveral accounts cannot hold, they may have the benefit of ſuch unreaſonable penalties, to which men ſubmit, not only from Ignorance of the Charter of the Company, but alſo as not being able to conteſt with the Purſe of the Fellowſhip, or be at the charge of a ſpecial Verdict, or of bringing the matter before all the Judges in the Chequer-Chamber, where, in ſuch Caſe, many of their Ordinances and practices would be found contrary to *Magna Charta*, and Common Juſtice: for for private men to try their right by a Jury of Citizens, who have born the like charge themſelves, they are ſure to have it given againſt them; and for the Companies, it being natural for men to deſire that others ſhould run the Gantlop as themſelves have done, and to maintain their Arbitrary proceedings herein, they oblige their Members by Oath at their admiſſions into their Companies to ſubmit to their Orders, (though never ſo unreaſonable or illegal), and then afterwards preſs Obedience upon the account of Conſcience; and theſe oppreſſions are great hinderances to the flouriſhing of this famous City, which I ſpeak not from hear-ſay, but in ſome meaſure from experience, recommending the conſideration hereof unto Authority for regulation. For as

as taking away the cauſe, the effect will ceaſe, ſo the regulating and improving Mechanichal arts and myſteries, being the reaſon aſſigned for ſome Incorporations, giving them power to that end to make Ordinances and levy money; when the end is not purſued, in putting thoſe ordinances in execution, the legalitie, as well as equitie, of their Patent and ordinances made there upon, may well be judged to ceaſe.

For I am not of their opinion, who think popular Feaſting and good Fellowſhip, called Hoſpitality, to be the Intereſt of the Nation, becauſe it conſumes the growth of the Country; but on the contrary, that it is altogether againſt it: For beſides the provoking of the Judgments of God by ſuch inordinate living, Exceſs weakens mens bodies, ſpends vainly their time, dulls their wits, and makes them unfit for action and buſineſs, which is the chief advancer of any Government; and to ſupply the want of people in any Land, by a riotous waſting the growth of it, is at beſt but a bad effect of a bad cauſe, and againſt that rule which forbids doing evil that good may come of it; and therefore, the true Intereſt of any Country is, by immunities, priviledges, and liberty of Conſcience, ſo to encourage, and encreaſe the number of people, as they may rather be (in a ſober way of living) too many, than too few for their proviſions: and we do find, that in former times, when Hoſpitality was in *England* much greater than at preſent, and that meerly in the expence of their own proviſions, without *French* Diſhes, or much of either *Spaniſh* or *French* Wines, the Country was poor to what it now is; and that it hath been the encreaſe of the Trade

and People of the Nation by Liberty and Priviledges, indulging tender Conſciences, that hath advanced them. And (as to the retrenching of expences) this ſeems to be agreeable to the principles of that wiſe and great Stateſman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who ſaith, that taking away all ſuperfluous charges and expences, as well in Hoſpitality, as in leſſening the Fees, Allowances, and Wages of Miniſters of little neceſſity, as alſo of Penſions, Rewards, Entertainments, and Donaries, to be a laudable parſimony, uſed by the *Romans*, and other well-governed States.

But, fourteenthly, impoſing upon Conſcience in matters of Religion, is a miſchief unto Trade, tranſcending all others whatſoever; for if the Traders and Manufacturers be forced to fly their Countries, or withdraw their ſtocks, by vexatious proſecutions, the having natural Commodities in a Country, or no great impoſitions upon them, will ſignifie little to the Prince or people, and therefore Liberty of Conſcience is not only the Common Intereſt of all the Nation, but eſpecially of his Majeſty, in that

Firſt, By it he obligeth all his Subjects equally to him, no man having juſt cauſe to be offended at another mans liberty, ſince he enjoys the ſame himſelf; and more particularly, he obligeth all the Non-Conformiſts to him, who can have no other Intereſt than his, that in grace and favour gives them Liberty; ſecuring thereby, in an eſpecial manner, all the ſeveral perſwaſions, from agreeing upon any thing to the prejudice of their Common friend; whereas the Papiſts have, as others may have, other Intereſts.

And were it in the power of man (as it is the Pre-

Prerogative of God alone) to force a belief or disbelief in matters controverſal, it were not (to ſpeak politically) the Moral intereſt of his Majeſty to make all his Proteſtant Subjects (who own no other head than himſelf, and who differ only in Circumſtantials) to be of one mind in Religion, but on the contrary, to keep them divided in opinions as checks upon each other. For as antiently in times of Popery, when there was no difference about the worſhip of God, this Kingdom was not without continual troubles and irruptions in State and Government; ſo were not the violent Church party kept now in awe by a contrary intereſt, and that they had not Non-Conformiſts to exerciſe their minds, and vent their choler upon, they might probably (as in former times) ſoon prove mutinous.

And as the variety of humours and Nations in *Hannibals* Army were reckoned to tend much to the obedience of it (each being ſpies upon the other) ſo the like benefit may be expected from the cheriſhing and maintaining of the Non-Conformiſts in *England*. And, although a Prince arrived to that height which is above Envy, and all fear from abroad, may ſometimes adventure in impoſing in matters of Religion, it is not in any kind excuſable in them that are not in ſuch a condition, but that ſtand in need, in reference to the potency of their Neighbours, of the hearts of all their people, eſpecially in this age, when the large experience the World hath had of the inſucceſsfulneſs and evil of it, hath made (even) in the greateſt Potentates, a general abatement therein, and now, when it is too late, they grow weary of their rigour: The laſt *Pope*, as is affirm-

ed, having diſſwaded the *French* King from attempting *Geneva*, when he thought to have obliged the Church of *Rome*, by reducing of it.

And oh that *England*, whilſt they have time, would be warned by the miſeries of others, to avoid the rock they have ſplit upon. Had the former Kings of *Spain* uſed in any degree the lenity that that Crown at preſent practiſeth in their Netherlands, where now a known Proteſtant may obtain his freedom of ſeveral Cities, without having his Religion enquired into, as at *Bruges*, *Newport*, &c. thoſe Countries had not been ſo thin of people, nor *Spain* ſo depopulated as they are, nor yet the whole Houſe of *Auſtria* ſo low, as it now ſeems to be. Nay, had the *Pope* made formerly ſo little uſe of his Inquiſition as he doth at this time, few places being leſs inquiſitive after mens belief, than *Rome*, where one may be as good as he will, and ſpend all his days without being proceeded againſt, either Eccleſiaſtically or Civilly, for not coming to their Churches, *Italy* had had more people than it hath, and been more conſiderable than it is: The *French* could never advance by Maſſacres, of which they are reckoned to have had thirty or forty, at ſeveral times, in ſeveral places, nor yet get forward in power and greatneſs, until they laid aſide Perſecution; confeſſing as *Lewis* the XIII. did at the taking of *Rochel*, that although it would rejoyce him to have all his Subjects of the ſame belief with himſelf, and that he ſhould uſe all ſweet means poſſible to draw them to it, yet ſince the experience of times paſt had ſufficiently made *France* to know, that Religion is not to be planted by the Sword,

The Hiſtory of the Siege of Rochel.

Sword, but (to uſe his own words) that it is God alone that muſt incline the heart, and illuminate the underſtanding with his knowledge; he aſſured them he would never uſe Violence in matters of Religion: and to give that King his due, he truly inherited the merciful good Nature of his incomparable Father.

Secondly, it may be concluded to be the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to grant Liberty of Conſcience, becauſe by a general conſent of Nations, Liberty in Ceremonies, invented by men, ſeems to be accounted neceſſary for the good of humane Society. For I believe I may without boldneſs affirm, that *England* is ſingular in proſecuting them, who are one with them in Doctrine, for differing only in Ceremonies, no other Chriſtian Church that I know of, doing the like. In *Germany*, the *Lutherans* have ſcarce, in any two Cities or Countries, the ſame Ceremonies; *Nurenburgh* and *Leipſigg*, having almoſt as many as the Papiſts, and yet differ in them; *Hamburg* hath fewer, and *Strasburg* none at all; and ſo it is through all the *Lutheran* Cities and Countries in the Empire, and yet agreeing in Doctrine, their differing in Circumſtantials makes no breach of charity amongſt them, although at the ſame Communion I have ſeen ſome receive ſtanding, as others have kneeling.

The Pole in that Kingdom, ſeveral Popiſh Eccleſiaſtical Soveraigns in *Germany*, and the Venetians in their Grecian Iſlands, do all give Liberty of Conſcience in Religion, without thoſe fears and jealouſies which we groundleſly ſuggeſt; and yet the Non-Conformiſts to the Magiſtrates belief, are in ſome of theſe places, three times the

number of the Conformiſts; and indeed where Liberty of Conſcience is given, all cauſe of mutiny from the Reformed upon the account of Religion muſt be taken away, they owning no other head than their own natural Prince.

The Church of *Rome* in their uſing the Inventions of men in the worſhip of God, ſeem (their Principles conſidered) to act rationally, becauſe they pretend to the aſſiſtance of an infallible Spirit; but for the Reformed Churches, who do not pretend to any ſuch help, to maintain that the Lord of Heaven and Earth, who is ſo jealous of his own worſhip, that under the Law, he ſeverely prohibited the adding to, or diminiſhing one tittle from what he had commanded, and under the Goſpel gave no other Commiſſion than to teach according to what he had commanded, that he hath left his Worſhip to the inventions of corrupt frail men, inclinable above all things to ſuperſtition and idolatry, and who are by nature endleſly various in their imaginations, ſenſe, and underſtandings, ſeems to be irrational, and to accuſe Chriſt of not having been as a Son, ſo careful of his Church, as *Moſes* a Servant was of the Church of God under the Law: for had Chriſt intended to have left his Church under a negative obedience in worſhip, making all things lawful that he had not forbidden, the command had been as readily made, to do whatſoever he had not prohibited, as it was to do whatſoever he hath commanded: And that the Church of *Rome*, who pretends to infallibility, ſhould not exact Conformity in Ceremonies, where there is an agreement in Doctrine, as they do not even in *Rome* it ſelf, (where they might force it, without

out prejudice to Trade, having little to obſtruct) there being in that City ſeveral Popiſh Churches, differing from one another in Ceremonies, and all abundantly from that properly called the *Roman* Church, and yet agreeing in Doctrine, have publick toleration, without exceptions; and yet that the Church of *England*, who pretends not to infallibility, ſhould to their civil prejudice, be rigid in impoſing them upon thoſe that agree with them, not only in Fundamentals, but in all material points of Faith, Worſhip, and Obedience, with puniſhment for denial, I cannot conceive the reaſon, except without Ceremonies to adminiſter matter of employment in puniſhing tender Conſciences, they think they ſhould be without work in any kind adequate to their great Revenues, and that they dread the conſequence of uſeleſneſs.

The Grecian *and* Armenian Popiſh *Congregations*, &c.

But if this be not the Caſe, and that they really deſign no more, than piouſly to bring the Non-Conformiſts into their Churches, (as I will hope they do not) I ſhall (becauſe the wrath of man will never accompliſh the righteouſneſs of Chriſt) humbly recommend unto them, as the moſt effectual remedy againſt ſeparation:

Firſt, Where the Pariſhes are ſo large, that the Churches cannot receive in ſome places half, in others not a third or fourth to an eighth part of the Pariſhioners, as the Churches of St. *Andrews*, *Sepulchres*, St. *Giles*, and St. *Martins in the Fields*, &c. they would be a means of procuring Acts of Parliament for dividing ſuch Praiſhes, otherwiſe people cannot be juſtly blamed for going to other Churches rather than ſtay at home.

Secondly,

Secondly, To furniſh the Pariſhes with Virtuous as well as able men, fit for the work of the Miniſtry, for that, where there is a defect in either qualification, hearers will think themſelves obliged in duty to God, and excuſeable before man in ſeeking other Teachers; for though a ſcandalous perſon may diſcourſe well for an hour in a Pulpit, yet his Life will always do more harm than his Preaching good; Example prevailing more with corrupt nature than Precept.

I have lived in reformed Countries abroad, where he that intends the Miniſtry, is firſt heard exerciſe in private by ſome of the moſt able, ſober, learned, and judicious of the Church, to the end, that whatſoever ſhould be found amiſs in matter, form, affectation in words or geſtures, might be reproved and reformed, after which he is Licenſed to Preach, but not ordained, until according to antient Canons he is called to a Charge, nor then neither, without a Certificate of his ſober Life and Converſation; a method, which as it would prevent the contempt of the Clergy (ſo much complained of by that Book, writ by a Conformiſt, ſhewing the cauſe of it) ſo it would tend much to the preaching the Non-Conformiſts into, and not out of the publick Churches, as the ſilly Weekly Sermons to the Jews at *Rome* do them, hardening them in their errors. And this is a care, that may well be thought the proper work of the Governours of a Church, and an imployment becoming the greateſt of them; for the debauchery and ignorance of the Eccleſiaſticks in the Church of *Rome*, &c. may rationally be judged the chief reaſon, why Religion thrives no better, and Atheiſm grows ſo faſt in the World.

For

For carnal men (as all are ſuch by nature) will not credit a Miniſter, that teacheth another what he doth not practiſe himſelf, but rather from his contrary walking judge Religion a Cheat.

Thirdly, It is a good remedy againſt Non-Conformity, to follow the Apoſtles rule, in not impoſing any thing in the worſhip of God but what is neceſſary, that ſo none may be kept out of the Church by offenſive impoſitions, as by turning the Communion-Table Altar-wiſe (Churchmen bowing towards, if not to it) and exacting ſitting bare all Sermon time, *&c.*

The firſt is directly againſt the Rubrick, for that the wiſdom of our Nation hath ordered the Table to be ſet in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel, (implying thereby as ſhall be moſt convenient for the Congregation) making it (according to other reformed Churches) a common Table, and not an Altar, and the Miniſter to ſtand on the Northſide of it, and ſo conſequently the Table to ſtand Eaſt and Weſt, as in the Temple where the Law is beſt underſtood, they will not tranſgreſs or invade the legiſlative power, and yet in oppoſition to Authority, it is in moſt places ſet North and South (to the offence of many) being clapped to the Wall of the Eaſt end of the Church, with Rales before it, as if (according to the Church of *Rome*) it were an Altar and Sacred; which actings contrary to Law, may well be thought to give ſome incouragement to the Non Conformiſts to follow their Examples in other Caſes.

There are ſeveral other Ceremonies as well as theſe, which are without and againſt Law. For it is enacted, That no form or Order of Common-Prayer, adminiſtration of Sacraments, Rites

or Ceremonies, ſhall be openly uſed in any Church, Chappel, or other publick place, of, or in any Colledge or Hall, in either of the Univerſities, the Colledges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, or *Eaton*, or any of them, other than what is preſcribed and appointed to be uſed in and by the ſaid Book, in which Book are no where found ſeveral Ceremonies now practiſed, nor the Order uſed in ſome Churches.

And as to that of ſitting bare all Sermon time, as it is without Authority, ſo it is againſt the practice of all Chriſtian Churches, in antient as well as modern times, and never known in *England* until of late, except in the three laſt Years of Biſhop *Lauds* Dominion, when he was deſigning the reducement of Religion to Forms, Geſtures, Habits and Reverence to Perſons and Stone-Walls: and this unwarrantable Ceremony keeps (upon ſeveral accounts) many out of the Church, as ſome from weakneſs of Conſtitution, no Caps being ſo good a fence againſt Cold, in a wide empty Church, as a broad-brim'd Hat, others upon an account of Conſcience, as thinking the Ceremony ſuperſtitious, and a third ſort upon a political account, as not daring to truſt the Church with an Arbitrary Power of impoſing what Ceremonies they pleaſe, fearing that the Countenancing of one Innovation by complying with it, may uſher in another (incroachments and breaking down of Fences, being always dangerous, but in ſome times more than in others) and ſo leave it uncertain where the Eccleſiaſtical Itch of Dominion will reſt, it being already ſo far advanced, that in ſome places it is expected that men ſhould be bare even to the very Walls of a Church,

Church, out of Service or Sermon time; and for warranting a Ceremony contrary to univerſal practice, and greateſt Antiquity, as that is of ſiting bare during the Sermon, we ought to have a diſcovery of new Light from *Scripture*, leſt otherwiſe we ſeem arrogantly to accuſe former Ages of impiety as well as ignorance, in never uſing any ſuch pretended decency.

And as all unneceſſary things tending to the dividing of a people, and conſequently to the breach of Peace and Charity, is impolitick, ſo diſtinguiſhing Ceremonies not Commanded by legal Authority, ought for Peace ſake, (as well as a duty incumbent) to be avoided; and if Church-men would according to the decrees of ſeveral Councils, apply themſelves only to the affairs of the Church, they would find work enough there.

As firſt in making ſtrict Examination after mens parts, and inquiry after their Lives and Converſations before Ordination, which is ſo neceſſary for prevention of ſeparation, that nothing elſe will be effectual, becauſe Pariſhioners will take exceptions againſt their Paſtors, if they find them wanting either in Morals or Miniſterial Gifts, and will not be ſatisfied with the care of procureing ſevere Acts of Parliament for the ſuppreſſing of Non-Conformity only to humane Ceremonies, not differing in Doctrine. And if the Phyſicians who have the care but of our Bodies, will not admit any into their Colledge without a thorough Examination and full ſatisfaction of their Abilities in their Faculty, with much more reaſon men ought not to be admitted into the Miniſtry, who have the care of our higheſt Concern, without the like tryal.

Secondly,

Secondly, In procuring Acts of Parliament where it is needful, for ſecuring our Religion againſt Popery, as for preventing Popiſh Mothers (according to the late if not preſent practice of the Reformed in *France*) in bringing up their Children (after the Death of their Proteſtant Fathers) to the Romiſh Religion as they often do. And alſo if their power for depriving ſcandalous Miniſters guilty of moſt enormous crimes, be not ſufficient, as ſome pretend it is not, to procure more, *&c.*

Thirdly, To promote the like for augmenting ſcandalous livings and ſcandalous allowances by Incumbents of pluralities to their under-Curates.

Fourthly, For providing (according to the Example of other Reformed Churches) maintenance for ſuper-anuated Miniſters, to the end that ſuch as are qualified for the work of the Miniſtry, may be admitted to the places of thoſe who from Age or other infirmities, either cannot Officiate, or are made ſo unfit for their Callings, that inſtead of inſtructing their Auditors, they adminiſter nothing but matter of laughter, ſcorn, and contempt, even to the meaneſt Capacities of the people, of which I have ſometimes been a witneſs.

Fifthly, For ſuppreſſing Popery in ſuch places where Church-Governours have moſt power, as where they are Lords of Mannors, and have Collegiate Churches with Deans, as at *Rippon* in *Yorkſhire*, reducing that Pariſh, which (according to common fame) hath near two thouſand Papiſts in it, to the example of *Halifax* and *Bradford*, two Pariſhes in the ſame County, remote and furtheſt from the eye of the Church, where

where the firſt hath not one Papiſt, though twenty thouſand Communicants, and the latter but one (a ſilly old man) though it hath ten thouſand in it, *&c.* and this I humbly propoſe, to the end that the increaſe of Popery in ſuch places may not reflect upon our Illuſtrious Church nor its reverend Governours, for I would not be underſtood in this (which I am led unto by the Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Intereſt of our Nation) to intend the impeaching or arraigning any thing that is according to Law, or the Eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhed Government, all ſuch deſigns being ſo foraign to my thoughts, that in order to the ſervice of the Church, I humbly offer further to conſideration, whether it's not ſafeſt to reduce our manner of Worſhip in all Churches to the exact rule of the Law, leſt otherwiſe the Separatiſts in many places, when profecuted for Non-Conformity, ſhould plead Innocency, in that there is no ſuch Church to go to as the Law directs; for unwarrantable additions in the obſervation of a negative Law, may render the obſervation as faulty and void as ſubſtraction may do, which I wiſh may be avoided; becauſe Non-Conformity being nothing but going contrary to the rule eſtabliſhed, the members of one Church, are as well Non-Conformiſts in adding, as the other are in ſubſtracting, and we cannot reaſonably blame them for the one, whilſt we practiſe the other our ſelves; And moſt of this I have been induced unto by that Book, ſhewing the cauſe of the contempt of our Clergy, writ by one of our Church.

Thirdly, Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts, is the true Intereſt of King and Kingdom, in that it is abſolutely and indiſpenſably

penſably neceſſary, for raiſing the value of Land, which at preſent is miſerably mean and low, and advancing the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdom.

Firſt, Becauſe impoſition upon Conſcience hinders the reſort of Strangers, and ſo the encreaſe of people, whereof *England* is greatly wanting, coming ſo far ſhort of *Holland* in numbers, (whereby that Province alone, is made more conſiderable than all the other ſix) that whereas they are calculated to have ſix Souls for one Acre of ground, *England*, I fear, hath hardly one for ten: and the riches of *Holland*, under ſuch multitudes, as the proviſions of their own Country, are ſaid not to be ſufficient to nouriſh above an eighth part of their People (all the reſt being ſupplied by the Sea, and Trade with other Countries) argues Plenty of Inhabitants to be a benefit to Trading Countries, and Foraign Conqueſts or Plantations, exhauſting men and money, where there is not an overplus of both, a prejudice which ought to be avoided.

Intereſt of Holland.

Secondly, Impoſition upon Conſcience, drives the ſobereſt and moſt induſtrious ſort of Natives into Corners, leaving Trade in too few hands, and to a kind of people that do but rarely mind it; amongſt whom, though there are ſome that get large Eſtates, it is not the thriving of a ſmall number, but diffuſive wealth, that makes a Country rich. And, as moſt of the Corporations in *England* have declined in their flouriſhing condition, ſince many of the ſobereſt and publick ſpirited Citizens and Townſmen, have, by the impoſition of Oaths they could not comply with, been barred all ſhare in

in Government, ſo the influence would have been the ſame upon the whole Nation, had not His Majeſty wiſely conſidered the good of his Kingdom, in expreſſing his ſence for Liberty, and in ſome kind conniving at it.

And if men, ſetting aſide paſſion, would but ſeriouſly remember, how pernicious quarrels grounded upon differences in matters of Faith, have been to Mankind (of which Hiſtory affords us plentiful Examples enough to make an honeſt heart tremble to relate) and ponder the ſad conſequence of Popiſh Perſecutions in the Deaths (by ſeveral bruriſh ways and torments) of many Millions of Chriſtians in *France*, *England*, *Netherlands*, *Germany*, the *Alpine Vallies*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Ireland*, beſides the dreadfull Wars, Confuſions, Ruines, and deſolations of Countries, that have been upon this account, producing no other effects than the depopulating of the three laſt, and increaſing the number of Diſſenters in all the reſt, beſides the irreparable damage of this Kingdom, in their former Biſhops driving the Woollen Manufactures back into the *Netherlands*, (as the King of *Spain* had before driven them into *England*) by Perſecution, where they have ever ſince increaſed, and where they now remain ſad Monuments to this Nation, of the impolitick ſeverity of thoſe times, they could not but be convinced of the vanity and wickedneſs of ſuch practices, as well as of the civil prejudice they bring to Nations, in deſtroying of their people, and therein depriving them of the benefit of Induſtry, thinking charitably of that ſaying, which was anciently in Vogue, and is ſtill in ſome places remembred, that when a Biſhop is Created, the Devil enters

into him, and makes him his Executioner; which as it had its original in times of Popery, so it concerns their Bishops only.

And let no man believe, that because the Monarch of *Spain*, and Tyrant of *Rome*, by prohibiting the reading the Old and New Testament, exercising bloody and merciless Persecutions (thereby depopulating their several Countries) have cleared their Dominions of their Protestant Subjects, that therefore without using the like means, the Church of *England* may do the same by their Non-Conformists; for if the exercise of a coercive power over the Consciences of men in matters of Religion, causing poverty and the unpeopling of a Nation, were more to be desired than liberty of dissenting in the Worship of God from Unscriptural Ceremonies, with populousness, and abounding in wealth and riches; yet with the Reformed Religion it is not feasible, because under the light that that brings with it, human inventions can never be imposed in the service of God without encountring opposition: for should the Nation be at once emptied of one whole Generation of Non-Conformists, so long as reading of the Bible is suffered, another will unavoidably (from the discovery it makes) immediately spring up; and for the prevention thereof to follow the Diabolical Doctrine of *Rome*, in prohibiting the use of that word which was given to man by the Spirit of God for his guide and instruction, is not to be done by Protestants, who know that the Apostles did not intend, that those to whom they directed their Epistles should be forbidden the reading of them, St. *Paul* having directed the most of his to all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus

Jeſus Chriſt, St. *James* his to the twelve Tribes that are diſperſed, St. *Peter* his firſt, to the Strangers in ſeveral Provinces, and St. *John* his, to Fathers, Young Men, and Children, with a particular direction to the Elect Lady and her Children.

And beſide theſe inſtances, there are multitudes of Texts in the Old Teſtament, enjoining and commanding the reading and ſearching the Scriptures, as a duty incumbent upon all that fear God: And if it be unlawful to do evil that good may come of it, it is much more unlawful to commit an evil, which carries with it the breaking down the Banks againſt Idolatry, Atheiſm, Profaneneſs and Immorality, to the letting in an inundation of all manner of ſin and wickedneſs, as that manifeſtly is, of the Popes taking from the people the benefit of the Divine Word; for had not the Devil found him out that Policy, he could never have expunged the ſecond Commandment, introduced that monſtrous Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, that beneficial Article of Faith, Purgatory, that ridiculous treaſure of the Church, ſuper-erogation, that impudent prohibition of Meats and Marriages (called by the Apoſtle the Doctrine of Devils) nor thoſe abſurd antick geſtures, actions and Ceremonies in the Maſs, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and Diſcipline of his Church, ſo much more fit for a Mountebanks-Stage than Divine Worſhip, that did he not keep the people ſtrangers to the word of God, by ſealing of it up, his Church (being without Foundation) would ſoon fall to the ground, the whole Fabrick being ſupported by nothing but ignorance and intereſt, the two great Commanders of the World.

Thirdly, As it is the King and Kingdom of *England*'s Intereſt, to give Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſo it is not only to deny it to the Papiſts, after the Example of other Reformed Countries, as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, ſeveral Princes in *Germany*, and the reformed Cantons in *Switzerland*, but alſo to take care to prevent the growth of them, and that upon a Civil ſcore; as firſt, becauſe they own a Foreign head upon the account of their Religion, in which they are carried on by ſuch a blind zeal, as cannot render them leſs than Spies and Intelligencers for that Intereſt, and ready upon all occaſions to appear for it.

And even the wiſeſt Popiſh States acknowledge the reaſon of this principle, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* affirming that the *Venetians*, as not holding it ſafe to have any in their Councils, who have Foreign dependance by Oath, Homage, natural Obligation, Penſion, or Reward, when their Senate is Aſſembled, cauſe Proclamation (before ſhutting of the doors) to be made, for all Prieſts to depart, and he who in this Common-wealth, is called the Divine of the State (an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, to be adviſed with in matters of Religion) is commonly choſen ſuch a one, as is reputed the leaſt Bigot in that Religion, as in the memory of ſome living, *Padri Pauli*, and after him *Fulgentio*, both ſucceſſively performed that Office, and were eſteemed Favourers of the Reformation, and Correſponders with *Diodati* of *Geneva*: and if Papiſts dare not truſt their own Clergy in their Counſels, upon the account of their Foreign dependance, Proteſtants upon the ſame account, have no cauſe to truſt Popiſh Subjects in their Countries, longer, than

than until they that are now living, die away, and that they can breed their Children to the Proteſtant Religion.

I am not ignorant, that there are a ſort of men, who, with the Author of that Book, Intituled *The State of England*, ſeek to infuſe a belief into the People, that the diſpenſing with the Laws againſt the Papiſts, is neceſſary for the prevention of perſecution to Proteſtant Subjects, by their popiſh Princes; but the impoſers of that opinion, preſume more upon ignorance, and eaſie nature, in the moſt of men, than upon any ſtrength there is in their Arguments: for this ſuggeſted danger, muſt refer to *Spain*, *Italy*, the Emperour, or the *French* King; and for the two firſt, they have by former Perſecution, (though not without depopulating of their ſeveral Countries) left no Native Proteſtants in them; ſo that however *England* ſhall deal with their own Papiſts, the King of *Spain*, nor the Pope, have any Proteſtant Subjects, to uſe better, or worſe; and for the few reformed Merchant-Strangers that are among them, they muſt (for their own Intereſt, in reference to Commerce) ſuffer them to enjoy a trading liberty, without having their Religion inquired into, and more than that, they are never likely to have.

And as to the Emperour, he being through facility of Nature, acted by the Church, hath (to almoſt the ruine of himſelf, as well as his Proteſtants) ſpent all his Reign hitherto in a grievous and ſore perſecution of the Reformed in his Hereditary Countries (having no power over them in other places of *Germany*) for by it, he hath loſt a great part of *Hungaria*, and in a fair way

of loſing the reſt; beſides that he hath thereby much prejudiced Trade, and leſſened his people; for even the Proteſtant Gentry and Nobility, who, by birth, have great Immunities, and ought not to be impoſed upon in matters of Religion, were (lately) ſome forced to leave their Countries, and others who ſtayed, to entertain none but Papiſt Servants in their Families, ſo that *England* by no kind of treatment of their Papiſts, can increaſe the Emperours perſecution (which is already ſo high) of his Proteſtant Subjects.

And for the *French* King, he cannot perſecute his Reformed, without breach of the Edict of *Nantes* (their *Magna Charta*) and ſeveral other Laws, giving them as good a right to exerciſe their Religion, as the Papiſts have for theirs, making them alſo capable of all Civil offices, priviledges, and preferments equal with Papiſts, and that upon conſideration of having been always loyal and faithful to the Crown; ſo that there is no parity betwixt the *French* Kings Arbitrary breaking of his Laws, againſt the reaſon of them, which hath not yet been forfeited, and which where made (with acknowledged gratitude) for the preſervation of the reformed, and the King of *England*, with the

continued

The Edict of Nantes *granted by* Henry IV. 30 April, 1598. *and Printed now with the Siege of* Rochel.

The Edict of Nantes, *confirmed by* Lewis XIII 2 May, 1610. *and again* 10 Nov. 1615. *& by* Lewis XIV. 8 July, 1643. *confirmed in Parliament*, 3 Aug. 1643 *& again confirmed by the ſaid* Lewis XIV. *this preſent King*, 21 May, 1652. *and in his Letter to* Cromwel, *dated* 25 May, 1655. *about the* Waldenſes *then perſecuted by th ir Prince the Duke of* Savoy, *he takes occaſion exceedingly to magnifie the faithfulneſs of his Proteſtant Subjects, & his great obligations to them.* Morlands *Hiſt.* Page 566.

continued reaſon of his Laws (witneſs the Maſſacre in *Ireland*) his keeping and executing them againſt his Papiſts.

But further, thoſe that obſerve any thing of *France*, muſt confeſs, that that King, in matters of Religion, regards no examples of others, or any thing but his own deſigns, as in his preſent perſecution of his reformed Subjects he may well be judged to aim at the advancing of his reputation with the Church of *Rome*, as a means to help him forward in his aſpiring deſigns; for but few years ſince, when the Papiſts were under the moſt ſeverity in *England*, the Proteſtants were under moſt liberty in *France*, and now they enjoy the greateſt liberty in *England*, the Reformed are the moſt perſecuted in *France*; but beſide theſe circumſtances, it cannot but be of evil conſequence, and a leſſening unto Soveraignty, to own the having an eye to other Princes in the execution of their Laws, for nothing can be more diſhonourable to a Prince, than to be under the awe of Foreign Potentates in his Adminiſtration, within his own Dominions; but this Gentleman doth not always ponder what he writes, for when I conſider his ſharpneſs againſt the Presbyterians, *&c.* in *England*, calling them Muſhromes, Tares, and the Sons of *Belial*, inſinuating the tranſplantation and extirpation of them, I cannot but wonder he ſhould have ſo much concern for the Reformed abroad, who are the ſame with the Presbyterians of *England*, and therefore muſt judge it to proceed from favour to the Papiſts, towards whom he ſo tenderly avoids

State of England, *p.* 50, 56, 60.

all reflections and ſeverity, as if he thought the revolt of a Presbyterian, &c. to Popery, to merit a pardon from tranſplantation or extirpation, and not from any kindneſs he can have for the Proteſtants in other Countries.

Nor do I know how to reconcile his boaſting of the tranſcending Charity of the Church of *England* towards other Churches, with his accuſing them of looking upon the Non-Conformiſts of *England* as Baſtards, or making no account of any other Intereſt in them, than a man makes of the Vermin which breed out of his excrementitious ſweat, or thoſe *Aſcarides*, which come ſometimes in his moſt uncleanly parts; but for ſuch homely expreſſions, ſurely the Church of *England* will not think themſelves beholding to him, no more than for rendring them ſo charitable to thoſe that differ from them both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, as the Papiſts do, who are the Church he muſt mean, and ſo uncharitable to thoſe that agree with them in all material points of Doctrine, and differ only from them in circumſtantials, as the Non-Conformiſts do.

Secondly, The growth of Popery in *England* ought to be prevented, not only becauſe the Principles of their Jeſuites (who of all Orders bear the greateſt ſway) of good Intentions, Equivocations, Mental Reſervations, Probability, and Neceſſity, &c. and of their Church, that there is no Faith to be kept with Hereticks, render them unfit for honeſt Converſation, eſpecially for the Society of Proteſtants, there being no fence againſt ſuch Principles; but alſo upon a Moral, Political account, as they are Enemies (compared to the Reformed) to civil proſperity, there being

ing no Popiſh Country in the World, but were they Proteſtants, would be more than of double conſideration to what they now are, as thoſe that are ſo now, are ſo much more rich, great, and formidable, than when they were under Popiſh Darkneſs, which proceeds from an unaptneſs to buſineſs, begot in men of that Religion, by the ſlavery they are in to the Church, and the incouragement given by it to idleneſs, in the multitudes of their lazy Fraternities, numerous Vagabond Pilgrims, and Holy-days; and where Religion hath no influence upon men, I wiſh this civil Conſideration may: For the truth of this, *Italy* and *Spain*, where they are the greateſt Bigots, do evidence; beſide, that the ſame ſeems to be made good in *England*, in that for one Papiſt ſtranger of buſineſs, that is in it, there is thought to be fifty Proteſtants, or more; though, I fear, the difference in the number of ſtrangers of the one and the other Religion, is not much; and the fewer idle and unprofitable perſons any Country hath, the more proſperous it muſt needs be.

Thirdly, Becauſe the vaſt ſums of money that go out of *England*, ſent by Papiſts to ſuch uſes as they call pious; for putting young Gentlewomen into Nunneries, and breeding Gentlemens Sons in popiſh Schools and Univerſities, with the Popes Revenue gathered by his Penitentiaries and Miſſionaries, for Indulgences, Diſpenſations, Tolerations, Pardons and Commutations, with Chimney-money (called *Peter* pence) continued ſtill by ſome, if not by all the Papiſts, is a great impoveriſhing of the Nation, and ſo a prejudice to Trade, the School at St. *Omers* having ſeldom

leſs

leſs than an hundred and twenty *Engliſh* Youths, and the Colledge at *Doway*, eighty or more Students, beſide their other Schools, Univerſities, Convents, and Nunneries, ſcattered over all the Popiſh Terietories, (founded on purpoſe to encreaſe that Intereſt in *England*, corrupt and pervert their Gentry) which are too many to enumerate.

And I have heard the Popes Collections in *England* Calculated by a Romiſh Prieſt, of more than ordinary imployment and intelligence, to amount to a vaſt ſum, a good part whereof is paid out in Sallaries, to Engliſh titular Popiſh Church Officers, and Superiours of Orders, which the Pope hath ordinarily lurking in *England*; and although this may peradventure be denied by Papiſts, who have no reaſon (though true) to own it, yet if their private and frugal manner and way of living, with their freedom from the charge of publick imployments be conſidered, it may rationally be concluded, that were they not under ſome great unknown expence, they could not but exceed their Neighbours abundantly in Wealth, whereas on the contrary, they do not generally increaſe ſo much in Eſtates, as Proteſtants do, who ſometimes have leſs revenues, and always live more plentifully.

And laſtly, Becauſe the multitude of lazy Prieſts and Jeſuites, ſent as Emiſſaries, to ſeduce Proteſtants, and encourage Papiſts in their Errors, are a vaſt charge to thoſe of that Religion, and in them, to the Nation, without contributing any thing to the good of Mankind: and if the *French* King thinks it his Intereſt, in order to the rendring himſelf Protector of the *Romiſh* Religion,

to

to ſuppreſs his Proteſtant Subjects, who, by Law, have a right to Liberty of Conſcience, equal with the Papiſts, who own no other Head but their Native King, and who were ſo faithful to him, that when reduced to the greateſt extremities at *Rochel*, and forced to implore the aſſiſtance of *England*, yet would never depart from their Allegiance, in putting themſelves under *England*, when ſollicited to it; The King of *England* hath much more reaſon to think it his Intereſt, in order to his ſafety, and making himſelf Head of the Proteſtant Party, to ſuppreſs the Papiſts, who own another Head, and ſo have a Foreign Intereſt, and who are bred to Principles which lead them to a reſtleſs plotting againſt their Sovereigns, if contrary to them in Religion, never joyning with ſuch but upon deſign for themſelves.

King James *his Proclamations*, 22 Feb. 1603. *and* 10 Janu. 1606. *and the Preamb. of the Stat. of* 35 Eliz. *cap.* 2.

As Sir *John Temple* in his Hiſtory of the Rebellion of *Ireland*, well obſerves, that to his remembrance there was not one Gentleman of Quality in all *Ireland* that was there born and bred a Papiſt, that at the breaking out of the Rebellion, either took up Arms for the King, or deſired to do it, they holding the murther of King and People, Rebellion, or any thing elſe, which they judge may tend to the propagating of their Religion, lawful, in the caſe of ſuch as they call Hereticks, as thoſe who have converſed with Papiſts abroad, where they ſometimes ſpeak their hearts, and own their Principles, do know, as well as the Gun-Powder Treaſon, the Maſſacre in *Ireland*, and the many Plots in Queen *Elizabeths* days,

days, (which cannot be forgotten) do ſufficiently witneſs.

And that theſe are their Principles, appears not only by theſe inſtances, but alſo by the writings of their greateſt Church-men, who maintain that the Pope hath power to diſpence with the Laws of God, in caſe he judge the obſerving of them to hinder the doing of a greater good. That if a Prince be (one they call) a Heretick, he may abſolve his Subjects from their Obedience to him. And as it is their Doctrine, that Faith is not to be kept with ſuch, ſo the other is their practice, our own late ſtories acquainting us, that *Faux* (Executed for the Gunpowder-Plot) juſtified at his Death, that horrid and deteſtable Treaſon, as good and warrantable by his Religion, denying that he ought any Allegiance to the King, becauſe he held him for an Heretick; and was ſorry only that the deſign took not effect (blaſphemouſly ſaying, *that God would have concealed it, but the Devil diſcovered it:*) which words we find not ſince denied, or blamed by any of their Church.

And what ſecurity can a Prince or State receive from a Religion of ſuch Tenents? And for further demonſtration, that theſe Principles are juſtly charged upon the Roman Church, it is not to be forgotten, that the Pope (whom they call infallible) to the end to recommend (as laudable) unto all his Followers the practice of Maſſacres and breach of Faith, appointed at *Rome* a Jubilee or ſolemn Thankſgiving for that at *Paris* (though odious even to Infidels for the Cruelty and faithleſneſs of it). And ſutable hereunto, I have my ſelf heard that unnatural act of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*'s putting his Eldeſt Son *Charles*

to

to Death (for being only ſuſpected of favouring the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*) That not to be parallel'd, bloody, and more than barbarous Maſſacre in *Ireland*, and the Popes owning of it, by ſending his *Nuntio* into that Kingdom to incourage and aſſiſt the carrying on of that Rebellion, all juſtified by Iriſh Prieſts and others of that Religion, which I have met with in Foreign Countries.

And that the Papiſts are inſtructed from their Cradles in theſe Barbariſms, I have alſo reaſon to believe, knowing it ordinary with them, to confeſs it lawful before God, to murther Proteſtants as they are Hereticks: and Dr. *Luther* in his Commentaries upon the *Galatians*, confeſſeth, that before his Converſion he could have adminiſtred Fire and Sword for the burning and deſtroying of an Heretick, as thinking he ſhould therein have done high ſervice unto God; and further chargeth it upon their whole Church, that they hold they do God good ſervice in killing Hereticks.

And how ſtrange ſoever this may ſeem to men of better Principles, ignorant of Popiſh practices and doctrine, yet it is no more than Sir *John Temple*'s Hiſtory of the Maſſacre in *Ireland* doth fully make out, in making it appear by the Depoſitions of ſeveral Credible Witneſſes, that the inhuman Cruelties of thoſe Heatheniſh Rebels were ſo prodigious, as the Primitive Perſecutions could not exceed; their Prieſts giving them the Sacrament upon condition not to ſpare Man, Woman, or Child, of the Proteſtant Religion, declaring it as lawful to deſtroy ſuch as to kill a ſheep or a Dog, teaching Popiſh Children to

kill

kill Proteſtant Children and Popiſh Landlords to kill their own Proteſtant Tenants, as they did Popiſh Tenants to do the ſame by their Proteſtant Landlords, and all without regard to Sex or Kindred: and at the Tryal of *Macquire* (a Chief Rebel) it was proved at the Kings-Bench-Bar, that there were no leſs than one hundred and fifty two thouſand Men, Women, and Children, ſatanically murthered in the firſt four Months, which number though ſo great, is far ſhort of Sir *Johns* Calculation, who affirms, that in *Ulſter* alone, which is but one of the four Provinces of that Kingdom, there was the ſame number of Proteſtants wanting in it; and yet the Maſſacre was over the whole Nation, which Sir *John* obſerves, was occaſioned by not putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Popiſh Clergy, as that which cauſed the filling of the Kingdom with Prieſts and Jeſuites juſt before the Rebellion.

And now upon the whole, though I believe the Engliſh Nation to be in the general the beſt conditioned people (freeſt from jealouſies and fears, eaſilieſt cozened with good words, not believing danger untill it be too late) of any in the World, and that therefore there may be ſome among them of the Romiſh Religion, who from a natural tenderneſs to Mankind, cannot bring up their natures to the exerciſe of the bloody and deſtroying Principles of their Church; yet as they are all bred to theſe principles and in the general (eſpecially thoſe in *Ireland*) are the moſt Bigots to *Rome*, ſo they want Bowels and good nature towards any of a contrary Religion to them, their Charity reaching at moſt no further than to thoſe of their own belief, loſing ſometimes with their

their Religion, all natural affection towards even their neareſt Relations remaining Proteſtants, when themſelves have turned Papiſts, of which I have known the experience.

And as their Prieſts working upon their blind zeal, do according to their own ambitious and reſtleſs Spirits, inflame their Diſciples with deſires of being uppermoſt, making them impatient of living under any other condition, ſo it is the Intereſt of the Proteſtants of *England* and *Ireland*, to be the more jealous of any Power in their Papiſts, as thoſe whoſe faithleſs Principles are not to be truſted, and eſpecially ſince in contemplation hereof were (I ſuppoſe) made thoſe wiſe Statutes, Enacting that the Popiſh Recuſants ſhall be reſtrained to their private Houſes in the Country, and not at any time after to paſs, or remove above five miles from thence, upon pain of forfeiture for life, of all Lands, Goods, and Chattels; That none of them, convicted, or to be convicted, ſhall remain within ten miles of *London*, nor come into the Court or Houſe where his Majeſty or Heir apparent ſhall be, nor have in their own Houſes, or in the hands or poſſeſſion of any others, at their diſpoſition, any Arms, Gun-Powder, or Ammunition whatſoever, 35 Eliz. *Ch.* 2. & 3 Jac. *Ch.* 5.

And by the Statutes of the 23 *Eliz. Ch.* 2. & 3 of *Jac. Ch.* 4. it is High Treaſon for any one to endeavour to withdraw another from the Eſtabliſhed Religion, in deſign to reconcile him to the Church of *Rome*, as alſo High Treaſon in him that is ſo withdrawn and reconciled to *Rome*.

And by the Book of Thankſgiving appointed for the fifth of *November*, ſet forth by King *James* and

and the Parliament, it is enjoined to pray upon that day, for the ſtrengthening of the hands of the King and Magiſtrates of the Land, to cut off with Judgment and Juſtice, thoſe workers of iniquity the Papiſts, whoſe Religion is Rebellion, whoſe Faith is Faction, whoſe practice is the murthering of Souls and Bodies, and to root them out of the Confines of the Kingdom; and it is pity this good Prayer made by wiſe and vertuous men is now left out of the Service Book, or not practiſed.

And now, ſince the Wiſdom of the Nation hath judged the Papiſts ſo dangerous, it may ſeem ſtrange, that putting the Laws in execution againſt the Non-Conformiſts, ſhould be thought a good reaſon for the proſecution of them, and be none againſt the other, of whoſe dangerous Principles there hath been ſuch large experience.

Some obſervations here may peradventure be thought ſtrained and new, as that there is a kind of Natural unaptneſs in the Popiſh Religion to buſineſs, whereas, on the contrary, amongſt the Reformed, the greater their zeal, the greater is their inclination to Trade and Induſtry, as holding Idleneſs unlawful; but experience in moſt places makes it good: as in *Spain* and *Italy*, no one City can boaſt of any great Trade driven by their Natives, the greateſt part of their Commerce being carried on by Proteſtant Strangers, *Amſterdam* alone having more Trade than all the Sea-Towns of *Italy* and *Spain* have, put together: But to come cloſer to the obſervation; In *Germany*, even in thoſe Cities where they are Papiſts, without toleration to any other, there the Reformed

may

may be ſaid to carry all the Trade, as at *Colne*; in other Towns where they are *Lutherans*, with a publick toleration to Papiſts, which is denied to *Calviniſts*, there the Reformed carry the Trade clearly from both *Lutherans* and *Papiſts*, the latter having little, as at *Frankford*, upon the Main. In other places, where the Cities are half *Papiſts*, half *Lutherans*, without toleration to any other, there the latter have the Trade, as at *Augsburgh*. In *France*, the Reformed, for their number, are the greateſt Traders, though that people being looſer from the Biſhop of *Rome* than *Spain* or *Italy*, are more given to Induſtry than either of thoſe Nations; but yet, that the Reformed are by much the more Induſtrious, appears, in that they have no Beggars amongſt them, though calculated to exceed three or four Millions of Souls; it having been obſerved by one that travelled *France* round, and croſſed it ſeveral ways, that in all his Travels in it, he never met with one Proteſtant Beggar; and yet the multitudes of Popiſh, are ſuch, that it hath upon tryal been found, that in going from the City of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, to the Proteſtants Church (two Engliſh miles and an half out of Town) to give every Beggar but that which they call a *double*, (hardly the ſixth part of a penny) will coſt a *Lewis d'or*, which is at leaſt 17 *s. ſterling*.

Theſe inſtances cannot be denied by any Traveller, that hath been curious to enquire into the condition of theſe places; and examples are the ſame in Politicks, as experience is in Naturals. Upon my own obſervation hereof, being inquiſitive after the reaſon, a perſon of Quality, and Miniſter of State to one of the Electors of

Germany, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, granted the truth of theſe things, but went no farther for the Reaſon, than that the Religion of the Reformed was an argument of their Wit, and that their Underſtandings made them the abler Merchants. To which I ſhall add this, that as the diſcovery of falſe Religions, may be ſaid to be the effect of ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding, ſo it is liberty that is the improver of them, no people under ſlavery, having that ingenuity as when under freedome. The Grecians, who antiently in time of liberty, exceeded all others in general knowledge and depth of Learning, being now under ſlavery, are a dull, ignorant, barbarous Nation. And the Florentines, who were once famed for acute and pregnant Wits, are now no more ſo, and at beſt but equal to the common ſort of Italians; for if oppreſſion will make a wiſe man mad, it may well ſuſpend the genius of a people.

And now upon the whole, ſince it appears that Trade depends much upon liberty of Conſcience, the ſuggeſtions againſt it, either from unexperienced, or concerned perſons, are not to be regarded; Gentlemen, bred only in the Country and brought up in a Religion which exacts little from them beſide Conformity to humane Ceremonies, with oppoſition to every thing that is contrary, being tenacious of that which is ſo pleaſing and grateful to frail Nature, are not generally competent Judges of this Intereſt, nor yet any ſort of People; who, having ſpent their days in ſtudying Books, more than Men or Things, employing themſelves more in puniſhing tender Conſciences for not obeying in the Worſhip of God the Commandments

ments of men, than in the weightieſt duties of their Callings, as in ſuppreſſing Papiſts, ignorant, debauched and ſcandalous Miniſters, rendring their Actions thereby to proceed more from Self-Intereſt, than an enlightened and ſincere Conſcience, are not in this caſe againſt demonſtrations to be hearkened unto.

And indeed, it is a work moſt ſuitable unto Soveraignty, the Grand-Child of *Henry* the Great of *France*, and the large experience of his Majeſty in Caſes of Religion in other Countries, to ſurmount all ſelfiſh oppoſition in this matter, for the advancement of his own Intereſt, and the good of his people, which whatſoever flaterers may ſuggeſt to the contrary, are bound up together.

I know that the Enemies to Liberty of Conſcience, do impoſe upon the World an apprehenſion of danger in it; but the poſition hath no Foundation in reaſon, preſidents, or any thing elſe, ſave a confident running down of truth for their own advantage, it no where appearing, that ever Proteſtants diſſenting from their National Church, having Liberty of Conſcience given them, did riſe up againſt their King, or diſturbed the quiet of their Country, as thoſe of the *Romiſh* Church have in all Ages and Nations done. For as the Reformed Religion obligeth its Members to worſhip God according to his Will revealed in his Word, ſo keeping good Conſciences in that, it teacheth them obedience to their Soveraigns in civil commands.

It is confeſſed, that the old *Waldenſes*, Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, have ſometimes fled to Arms for defence of themſelves, in the exer-

ciſe of their Religion; but although the advantages they have often had of their Princes, have been great, yet no ſooner was ever Liberty granted them than they laid down Arms, returning again to obedience, in which they alwayes continued, until their Articles were broke, which (contrary to Faith was frequently done: and the like cannot be denied concerning the Proteſtants of *France*, *Hungary*, and other places, whereas on the contrary, antient and modern Story afford us plentiful relations of thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion riſing up againſt their Kings, when they have had full liberty in Religion, and no reſtraint upon them in their Worſhip: as who were greater Inſtruments in the Barons Wars in *England*, againſt their Kings, and in the changes that followed thereupon, than the Church in time of Popery? were not the many Tragedies, acted antiently in *Scotland*, in ſuch times, when they were all Papiſts? Did not the *Romiſh* Catholicks in *France*, notwithſtanding theirs was the National Religion, depoſe and degrade their lawful Soveraign *Henry* IV. the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, in his abſence, arraigning and condemning him to death, executing him in his Effigies by Harquebuſhes; none of which Traiterous and Rebellious uſage, did that great and excellent King (Grandfather of His Majeſty of *England*) although he recovered all by force of Arms, in the leaſt revenge; by which generous as well as politick carriage, he added to the Conqueſt of his Country, the Conqueſt of the hearts of all his people, reconciling at once all the animoſities and factions, which had

Duke of Rohan *his Memoires.*

had been the product of near forty years Civil Wars.

Are they not Papiſts in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where, in our time, have been ſo many revolts and mutations, with the depoſition or confinement of the preſent King of *Portugal*? The late Confederates in *Poland* againſt their King, were all Papiſts, and of a Country where Popery is the National Religion. The preſent *French* Kings danger in 1650, *&c.* was from his Popiſh, and was delivered chiefly by his Reformed Subjects. The Papiſts in *Ireland* had (as none can deny) liberty for exerciſe of their Religion, exceedingly above what the Non-Conformiſts had at that time, when they committed that not to be parallel'd bloody, and more than barbarous Maſſacre in the Year 1641. Nay, the ſteady greatneſs and quiet of *Sweden*, is of no elder date than ſince they caſt off Popery, pulled down their Biſhops, and embraced *Proteſtantiſm*, the Church having been until then the occaſion of much trouble unto that Kingdom. And none of theſe particulars being deniable, the Papiſts cannot without great impudence, boaſt (as many of them do) of their fidelity to their Princes, accuſing the Proteſtants with want of it, and eſpecially ſince if theſe inſtances were not enough to make good the aſſertion, that the Proteſtants are the beſt, and Papiſts the worſt of Subjects, the like might be obſerved of every individual Country and Nation in the Chriſtian part of *Europe*, in the times of Popery; but ſuppoſing theſe to be ſufficient I ſhall not give my ſelf any farther trouble upon this point.

Fourthly, As *England* is an Iſland accommoda-

ted with good Havens, Ports, Harbours, and safe Coasts, for making their Shipping the Walls of it (as they have ever with good reason been esteemed and called) so they ought to look upon the conveniencies that God and nature have therein given them above all other Nations, to be their great benefit, and to hold it the undoubted internal Interest of both King and Kingdom, to make use of such their advantage, in keeping always a sufficient guard at Sea, and that

First, because Foreign Commerce is thereby protected and incouraged, in freeing the Seas from Pirates, and in affording good Convoys against Enemies and the pilfering French.

Secondly, Because such Guards at Sea (beside that they are honourable and render the Nation formidable to their Neighbours) are to *England*, not only as Frontier Garrisons are to other States, but much more, in that, notwithstanding out-Towns, Inroads may be made into a Country, whereas *England* keeping themselves Masters at Sea (which with ease they may do) they are not only above all danger from abroad, but have also thereby the charge and inconvenience of a standing Militia as well spared as Domestick Industry incouraged, by having the Country freed from Land Souldiers, whose idle Callings and rude manners, being (in times of Peace) of ill Example and a burthen to a Nation, prove always obstructors of ingenuity and trade, which is the reason why other Countries, who are not capable of being defended by Sea-Guards only, make use of Frontier Garrisons, keeping their Inlands as free from Souldiers as is possible.

Thirdly, Because Sea imployment being of an active

active and laborious nature, the ſpending that money at Sea which other Countries ſpend on Land Forces, an induſtrious ſort of people, fit and uſeful for ſervice, as well at Land as Sea, are bred and nouriſhed, inſtead of Land Souldiers, who are generally of lazy humours and uſeleſs ſave only in time of a Domeſtick War, which can never be feared in a Country under ſo happy a Conſtitution and Adminiſtration as *England*. Beſides as no Oaths, or Arms, can (according to general experience) ſecure an ill Government, ſo a good (eſpecially in an Iſland which cannot be invaded but by Sea, and where they are an overmatch for any Country) ſtands in no need of either.

Fourthly, Becauſe as it is the undoubted political Intereſt of all Trading Countries, to countenance and advance by all honourable and honeſt ways the Reformed Religion, as thoſe of that perſwaſion are of active and induſtrious Principles, and to ſuppreſs Popery becauſe of their contrary diſpoſitions and breeding; ſo as the Engliſh Seamen having experienced abroad the ridiculouſneſs of Popiſh Worſhip, and the ſluggiſhneſs that is nouriſhed by that Religion in all ſorts of their members, eſpecially in their Pilgrims, begging Fryars, and other unprofitable Orders, come thereby to be moſt averſe (if not univerſally ſo) of all other Callings to the Church of *Rome*, *England* is the more ingaged in their Intereſt, to endeavour the breeding of them as a Generation that is for the ſecurity of the Kingdom againſt Strangers, and upon all occaſions uſeful in oppoſing the dangerous deſigns of the Papiſts, and of great benefit to the Country, in

protecting Foreign Traffick, ſparing the charge of Land Souldiers, and preventing in them the ill Example of Idleneſs.

And Fifthly, Becauſe never any Nation exceeded in Glory and Renown, that was not great at Sea; The *Romans*, *Grecians*, and *Egyptians*, having all in their ſeveral times been more or leſs great, according to the proportion of their power there. And thus having done with the Domeſtick Concern of *England*, I come to the Foreign Intereſt of that Kingdom.

And firſt, As the Foreign Intereſt of a Nation looks outward, and in order to its good and preſervation, regards the actings and deſigns of Foreign Princes and States (eſpecially their Neighbours) endeavouring to reduce them to that which may moſt agree with their own good and ſafety; ſo it is the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to make uſe of the advantages their ſtrength and ſituation gives them, in weighing the imperial Powers of Chriſtendom, keeping the Ballance, by adding to, or diminiſhing from any of them, as beſt ſuits with Juſtice, and their own Intereſts. And as undoubtedly His Majeſty hath done more than any ſince good Queen *Elizabeth* (if for a ſhort time a ſort of people not fit to be remembred did not the ſame) in hitting upon his true Foreign Intereſt, in that triple League of which he was the Author, and into which he hath, with ſo much wiſdom and prudence lately entered for oppoſing all growing greatneſs by Sea or Land, in the *French*, they being already too potent for their bordering Neighbours; ſo conſtantly and effectually to adhere thereunto, in joyning with all others to that end,

and

and particularly with *Spain*, with whom *England* hath a much more profitable Trade than with *France*, is (according to preſent affairs) the ſame; For ſhould *France*, by the acquiſition of thoſe convenient provinces and Ports of the *Netherlands*, become Competitors with *England* in Trade (to ſay no worſe of them) they would, in a ſhort time, make good Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Character of them, in being falſe, inſolent, and covetous Neighbours.

Sir Walt. Rawleighs *Cabinet Counſellor.*

And as the *French* fomented the War in the Year 1665. betwixt *England* and *Holland*, and then deſigned clearly and manifeſtly ſo far the aſſiſtance and incouragement of which party ſoever ſhould prove the weaker ſide, as would keep them in an equal ballance, to the end they might deſtroy each other, and in their fall give them an advantage of increaſe; the which they did from a wiſe proſpect of the damage it would be to them (in a total defeating their deſign for an Univerſal Dominion) to ſuffer either *England* or *Holland*, and eſpecially the firſt, to be ſole Maſters of the Sea; ſo

Firſt, It concerns *England* to joyn with *Holland* for preventing of the *French* in arriving at the ſame themſelves, becauſe nothing can be more manifeſt, than that ſuch is their ambition, and that both from their actions, and the writings of their Subjects, though the fruſtrating of them in it, is yet as eaſie for *England* and *Holland* reſolving upon it (and holding a good and hearty intelligence with each other) to do, as it is for them to deſire it.

For the preſent want the *French* have of Ports in the

the Narrow Seas, and having none very good on this ſide the *Mediterranean*, ſave *Breſt* in *Britaignie*, (except the new made Haven at *Rochford* upon the River of *Charent*, which is ſo deep in the Bay of *Biſcay*, as is out of all Marine Courſe, ſave to their own Country, be a ſecond) renders them obnoxious to a reducement in their Naval ſtrength, (without difficulty) to the devotion and diſcretion of their Neighbours, and to do it in time, is the general Intereſt of *Europe*. For ſhould they be ſuffered to gain the Havens in the *Netherlands*, they would ſoon contend for the Dominion of the narrow Seas, or ſhould they by the Death of the Young King of *Spain*, become Maſters of that Country, and after that conſequently of *Portugal*, and ſo of the Harbours and Ports in both Countries which are good, or by the Rebellious Inclinations of the Papiſts in *Ireland*, ſurprize any Sea Towns there, which are yet better, it would then (in a little time) prove a hard task (if not too late) to deal with them. And ſince nothing can be more clear, than that the *French*, conſidering that no People or Prince can exceed in greatneſs that is not great at Sea, and that none can be great there, that is not better accommodated with Ports and Havens than they yet are, do therefore ſeek to ſupply themſelves elſewhere; *England* and *Holland* are concerned in their Intereſt to agree together, for preventing of them in ſuch their deſign and particularly the firſt, in that the *French* are the only people in all the World, that the Engliſh Nation hath cauſe to be jealous of, all other Countries being uncapable of putting them in danger.

For though the *Dutch* have of late in their conteſts

conteſts with them, come (by accident) better off than they could well have hoped for, or formerly did; yet experience ſhewed even then that they are not fit for Land Invaſions. And that they can never agree with *France*, whilſt they remain a Republick, for a Conqueſt of *England* (as ſome will irrationally ſuggeſt) may be relied upon; And not only in that they want people for ſuch a deſign, but alſo becauſe being a Country that hath as wiſe men among them as the World affords, they cannot promiſe themſelves any ſecurity in a Partnerſhip with a Prince ſo much too mighty for them as is the *French* King, and therefore we ought not to ſuffer groundleſs ſuggeſtions to turn us from our true Intereſt in keeping of them up.

Secondly, Becauſe the ambitious deſigns of *France*, their preſent Conſtitution, and the nature of their Government, requiring a continual ſtanding Land Army, for keeping their oppreſſed people in awe, that they may thereby be ready for any deſign, eſpecially for Invading *Spain*, ſhould that ſickly King be taken away; that by the payment of their Forces, they may Iſſue out ſome part of their vaſt Revenue, exacted from their miſerable Subjects (leſt otherwiſe in few years, all the money in *France* ſhould Center in their publick Coffers) their ſometimes Alarming of *England* by drawing towards them with their numerous Field Army, will be of no charge to them, whilſt the Engliſh will thereby be put upon perpetual expence, in keeping Land Forces on foot, and yet notwithſtanding be unſecure, except not ſuffering the *French* to increaſe at Sea, but reducing them there to what they were (to look no further back) in 1662. when they had not twenty Ships of War

great

great and ſmall (whereas they have now ſix or ſeven times as many, and all much better) the Engliſh keep in themſelves the Commanding power there, and ſo free their Country of the Charge and inconvenience of Land Armies.

And the taking down the *French* at Sea, and ſo preventing our danger from them, may yet with facility be done; for notwithſtanding the great noiſe the number of their Ships make in the World, we are ſtill an over-match for them, and ſhall be ſo, until they get more and better Harbours for Navigation than they at preſent have, for nothing Multiplies Seamen but Foreign Commerce, and nothing that ſo much, as plenty of good Ports, Havens, and ſafe Coaſts, (of which to the comfort of Chriſtendom *France* is in want) but if we delay bridling their ambition, until they have furniſhed themſelves further with Ports and Havens, they will ſoon prove too great to be dealt with, and therefore it muſt be the Intereſt of *England*, and indeſpenſibly neceſſary for them, to join (before it be too late) with *Holland* for deſtroying the *French* in their Naval ſtrength, *Newfound-land* Fiſhery (increaſed lately to the prejudice of *England*) and their *Weſt-India* Trades, which are their Nurſeries for Seamen, and in doing this, *England* will have a treble advantage.

Firſt, In ſecuring themſelves againſt their Invaſions and Inſolencies, which they have lately had experience of.

Secondly, In retrieving their *New-found-land* Fiſhery, which the *French* have almoſt wormed them out of.

And thirdly, In putting a ſtop (without the Charge of Invading them by Land) to their Conqueſts,

queſts, for by taking away their Trade, their power at Land will be taken away, the firſt being that which gives life to the latter; and when any Nation not being content with their own Dominions, deſigns ambitiouſly, and without provocation againſt Mankind in general (as by making their glory the occaſion of their War it is manifeſt they do, a reaſon ſo ſenſual and unchriſtian, as may well alarm all Princes and States againſt them) they ought to be dealt with as Beaſts of prey, in uſing all juſt means for diſarming of them, and as it is moſt proper for other Princes and States (who are upon the continent) to undertake them at Land, ſo for *England* to do it at Sea is their natural Province; and this being done, they may then in Summer with twenty Men of War in the Channel, and eight or ten upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, and fewer in Winter, bid defiance to all the World; whereas by any other way they can never be ſafe; for ſhould the *French* prove once their Maſters, or equals at Sea, *England* would not in any kind be able to keep a ſtanding Land Army great enough, to defend all the Coaſts round their three kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, but muſt in ſuch Caſe be at the devotion of the *French*.

And when any other way of ſafety to our Nation, than by bringing down the *French* at Sea is made out, I ſhall readily confeſs my error, but until then I cannot without great anxiety of mind remember our danger from them, for that I cannot apprehend any reaſon that that Nation can have now more than in former Ages, for increaſing (at ſo grand an expence) their men of War to ſo great a number, other than in deſign againſt

England

England and *Ireland*, that Kingdom ſtanding in no need of Sea-Guards, as is evincible by their having had none conſiderable in their former Wars with *Spain*, at times when that Crown was in its *Zenith*, mighty and powerful at Sea: for the difficulty and hazard in approaching their Coaſts, and Invading their Country, from the lowneſs of their Land, rockineſs of their Seas, with the multitude of their people, fit enough to defend their own Coaſts, may as well ſave them ſtill the charge of a Naval Force, as it hath hitherto done, except they aim at an Invaſion of *England* or *Ireland*, or both; and to make this the more intelligible, I will reduce all to this Poſition, That *England* and the Territories thereunto belonging, cannot be ſecure againſt the Neighbourhood of *France*, without keeping the Dominion of the Seas in themſelves.

For *France* being a Country over-ſtocked with people, abounding in Proviſions, and Ammunition for War, having plenty of Military Officers, an active ambitious King, one of buſineſs, ſo wiſe as to chuſe able and faithful Counſellors, to know his own Intereſt and to purſue it; there is nothing wanting to them, ſave a power at Sea, for Invading of *England*.

And as our Countries are not to be invaded but by Sea, ſo Iſlands are beſt defended by Sea-Guards, eſpecially where the Coaſts and Harbours are ſafe, good, and of eaſie deſcent, as thoſe of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* are, where whoever is Maſter, may without difficulty land almoſt in any part, and a Fleet being removeable with more ſpeed than Armies from one place to another in caſe of oppoſition, without wearying and harraſſing of their Souldiers,

Souldiers, landing cannot be prevented, except it were poſſible to keep Armies ſufficiently numerous to defend all the Coaſts round the three Kingdoms, ſo that there is no way left to ſecure theſe Countries againſt the puiſſance of *France*, which lies conveniently for invading of them, but by ſuch Sea-Guards as may be an over-match for them; and therefore it conſequently follows, that the indiſpenſible Intereſt of *England* is, to reduce the *French* at Sea to that condition, that they may not be able to invade them.

And as Ships no more than Guns can ſignify any thing, without men to make uſe of them, ſo the way to keep the Dominion of the Seas, is to endeavour the increaſing of our own Mariners, as well as to prevent the *French* in doing the ſame, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould come to equal if not exceed us in them, as they ſeem to deſign, and if they ſhould but increaſe in Seamen twenty Years more, after the rate of the twenty laſt Years, in all probability we ſhould have enough to do with them, for in leſs than the time mentioned, they are riſen from twenty Men of War to one hundred and forty, and from having an inconſiderable ſhare in the *New-found-land* Fiſhery (which was our Chief Nurſery for Seamen) to out-do us there, and that by the advantage they have,

Firſt, In the convenience of the Neighbourhood of that Land which we lately gave them in exchange for that part of the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers*, taken from us in our Kings War with *Holland*. And ſecondly, by the cheapneſs of Salt, which their King gives them free of duty, a piece of generoſity he would not be guilty of to his Subjects, were it not on purpoſe to eat us out of that Trade,

Trade, by going cheaper to Foreign Markets than we can, inſomuch, that if we do not out them there by force, they will us in a little time by underſelling, and then we ſhall not only loſe our beſt Nurſery for Seamen, but which is moſt miſchievous, make our loſs ſuch a gain to our malitious and implacable Enemies, as may render them our equals, if not Maſters at Sea; for in this Fiſhery alone, they are reckoned to imploy every Summer near thirty thouſand men, whereof five or ſix thouſand become Yearly by that Trade new-bred Mariners, and herein they already out-go *England* one third at leaſt, though but a few years ſince they were Pedlars to them in that Fiſhery. And beſides this, they begin likewiſe to improve in the *Greenland* Trade, in which if they proceed it will tend mightily to the increaſing of their Mariners, and ſo help them in their deſign for the dominion of the Seas, which is hardly to be prevented, but by a timely War; and therefore we may account it a providence, that we have an opportunity to declare War againſt them, whilſt we are too ſtrong for them at Sea, and may have Confederates not only to joyn with, for deſtroying them in their ſeveral Fiſheries, (which breed them more Mariners than all their other Trades) but alſo that will find them work enough at Land whilſt we fall upon them by Sea.

And as for *New-found-land*, we have an original right to that, as having been the firſt diſcoverers and inhabiters of it, and as I have been informed, the *French* at firſt paid us a duty for permitting them to Fiſh there, but never arrived at any height in that Trade, until of late Years, and by driving them out of this place, and (according

cording to the Example of other Countries in their Plantations) prohibiting their trading thither; *England* will not only preſerve a Magazine of Mariners for their own uſe, but alſo thereby keep the *French* from arriving at any greatneſs at Sea, which is our undoubted Intereſt.

Secondly, As *England* and the *United Netherlands* (which are in ordinary diſcourſe underſtood by the name of *Holland*, that Province, by way of eminence; giving denomination unto the whole) are the two great Maſters of Naval ſtrength, and ſeated with ſuch advantages for aſſiſting each other, that whilſt a true intelligence is preſerved betwixt them, it is not in nature for all their Enemies combining together, to prejudice either of them; ſo it is the true Intereſt of *England*, to maintain a firm and perpetual friendſhip and union with them; and that,

Firſt, Becauſe as the *Netherlands* are naturally ſtrong, ſo they are above all other Countries fitted by ſituation for the uſe of *England*, to give check to any aſpiring Prince, and be as invincible Bulwarks, againſt the All-devouring deſigns of the *French* King, in being able at any time, with the countenance of *England*, to deſtroy him at Sea, who being brought down there, and ſo in his Commerce, will ſoon abate of his Power at Land; and ſurely nothing can be more for the ſecurity of *Europe*, than to reduce the Naval Strength of that threatning King, within former bounds; for the World found, that until the *Spaniard* loſt his Marine Force, in the Year 1639. which he never after recovered, he maintained his deſign for the Univerſal Monarchy, very vigorouſly, and never ſunk till then.

Secondly, Becauſe it is equally their Intereſt with *England*, in reference to their Navigation, to keep the Ballance betwixt the Northern Kings and Soveraigns, not ſuffering any of them to engroſs that Sea, becauſe Naval Commodities comeing thence, neither of them can be ſafe longer than the Sea remains divided among ſeveral Princes and States, whoſe general Intereſt it can never be to deny them neceſſaries for their Shipping (the chief Walls of their ſeveral Countries) or a general Trade with them; whereas if one were ſole Maſter of the whole, he would peradventure in ſome Caſes judge it his, and preſume to refuſe them all accommodations; and this principle, the States of *Holland* have wiſely in our days, ſeveral times owned, as in the Years 1643. in ſiding with the Crown of *Sweden*, when the *Danes* would (had not the States aſſiſtance been in the way) have run them down at Sea; as alſo on the contrary, in the Year 1658. in taking part with the *Danes*, when the *Swedes* had otherwiſe done the like by them, by which means, both the Crowns are preſerved, and kept within tolerable limits and bounds.

Thirdly, Becauſe that as Providence ſeems to have placed them with conveniencies for joyning with *England*, in keeping all other Maritime Princes, or Powers in order, ſo, without any capacity of being dangerous to their Neighbours, their Conſtitution being ſuch, as will not well admit of any further acquiſts.

Fourthly, Becauſe as *England* and *Holland* are of one and the ſame Religion, ſave in ſome Ceremonies, ſo it would be of great incouragement and countenance to all the Proteſtant Countries,

to

to have a firm League betwixt two ſuch formidable Powers of their own belief, and as great a trouble and diſturbance to all the Popiſh Counſels.

Fifthly, Becauſe the World having had ſuch large experience of the happy ſucceſs of their Conduct, in being principal Inſtruments in preventing the Houſe of *Auſtria* in their grand deſign for the Univerſal Monarchy, and conſequently, in the propagation of the reformed Religion, as well as at ſeveral times, in preventing both *Dane* and *Sweed*, from either of them devouring the other; it were ſurely high impolity, as well as in ſome degree ingratitude, to ſuffer ſuch uſeful Inſtruments and Allies, to whom this Generation is ſo much obliged for their wiſe and excellent management of the general Intereſt of theſe parts of *Europe*, to be deſtroyed.

And ſixthly, Should *England* by refuſing aſſiſtance to the United *Netherlands*, force them either to joyn with *France*, or ſtand Neuters, as if they be left ſingle in ſupporting the General Intereſt of *Europe*, they muſt neceſſarily (according to the eye of reaſon) do the one or the other, nothing can be more certain, than that it will be of moſt dangerous conſequence to the very life of *England*, to ſuffer ſo near a Neighbour as *France*, to increaſe daily in power and ſtrength; and if the States ſhall by a compulſed Neutrality look on, and ſee their Neighbours by degrees ſubdued, they muſt be cleared from all guilt of imprudence in it, and leave the blame upon them that deſerted them, in the maintaining the publick Intereſt of Chriſtendom, though it ſhould prove in the end the deſtruction of themſelves, in that a reprieve

for a time is rather to be choſen than a preſent Death. And therefore, as it was accounted the Intereſt of *England* in the Reign of Good Queen *Elizabeth*, to uphold the States againſt the *Spaniard*, ſo it is not only now the Intereſt of King and Kingdom of *England* to do the ſame againſt *France*, but even alſo ſincerely and heartily to inviteth e United Provinces (were they backward in it) to join with them, in reducing that King within former bounds and limits.

Theſe States I know have many Enemies, ſome envying their Trade and Riches, others their revolt from the King of *Spain*, as of bad Example, and the Church of *Rome*, their eſtabliſhed National Religion, as that which is paſt ſhaking. In that having found by experience, that their temporal as well as ſpiritual Intereſt is bound up in it, there is no place left for Popiſh deluſions. And thoſe in the Government being too numerous to be corrupted, the over-powering them by Force, Maſſacres, and Fires, are all the ways the Romaniſts have left for deſtroying of them. And ſince their Riches is their ſtrength, which lie moſt in Cities, the Papiſts had ſurely ere this applied their Fiery Potion, were they not by extraordinary care and watchfulneſs prevented.

But becauſe none of theſe Arguments can be plauſibly made uſe of againſt them by the Papiſts, who dread the Conjunction of *England* with them, nor by thoſe Princes and States who aſſiſted them in their revolt, the grand reaſon for ſubduing of them is made the greatneſs of their Trade, which being deſtroyed, would be divided amongſt their Neighbours, loading them ſometimes untruly, with accuſations of unjuſt dealings, exactions, and falſeneſs;

neſs; to which I ſhall only anſwer this, that although I have no cauſe to become an Advocate for them, from any advantanges or benefit received, yet having travelled their Countries, obſerved their Manners, and read their Diſputes and Tranſactions with other Nations, I think it but an Act of Juſtice to acknowledge, that in the generality of their Morals, they are a reproach to ſome Nations, (and particularly, (in ſo little uſing that Art of over-valuing their Commodities in their ſelling) to *France*, who ſo ſhamefully uſe and practiſe it) And as to their Treaties and Alliances, after which I have been inquiſitive, I have ſometimes found them wrongfully charged with breach of Articles, and do not find cauſe to accuſe them of having been in the obſervance of Treaties leſs candid or faithful than other Countries; and I cannot think, their Trade, or Wealth, (although I believe that *Holland* ſingly taken, is the richeſt ſpot of ground for its bigneſs, that ever was ſince the Creation) to be a good or honeſt Foundation of a quarrel: For their Commerce being alone the effects of Induſtry and Ingenuity, it is no reaſon for any to be angry with others, becauſe they exceed them in thoſe Virtues, But beſides that the deſtroying of the *Netherlands* would be the ſhaking the ſafety of theſe Northern Regions, the increaſe of Trade to other Countries, ſo much promiſed by ſome in their deſtruction, would ſurely fail; for were Trade ruined in *Holland*, as leſs cannot be the effects of Conqueſts and Slavery, the example aud emulation of their Trade, which hath been the great increaſe of it in other Countries, being taken away, and Trade fallen to a ſort of People of leſs concern for it, men would

grow lazy and weary of Commerce, every one thinking they did well as long ſo they were upon equal terms with their Neighbours; ſo that the ſubverſion of *Holland* would be no benefit to any, ſave to the *French* King, into whoſe mouth their Country would moſt fall, who wanting nothing for the making of him uncontroulable, but Havens and Ports to harbour Ships, nouriſh and breed Seamen, would find ſupply there, and whoſe Kingdom being over-ſtocked with People, would be able to ſpare men to plant an un-inhabited Country, as would certainly be the Fate of *Holland*, under a Conqueſt and Arbitrary Government, as it hath been to all the free Cities in *Tuſcany* and *Italy*, ſince they loſt their Liberty; whereas *England* wanting neither Havens nor Ports, nor having an over-plus of people, it would be a damage to them in the loſs of their Inhabitants, and an unprofitable Charge to maintain Foreign Colonies, where the Seas muſt be perpetually croſſed for ſupplying of them with Men, Money, and neceſſaries; inſomuch that the *Netherlands*, under ſuch circumſtances as they would be reduced unto by ſubduing of them, would not be in the hands of the *Engliſh*, ſo much for their own ſecurity, as in theirs that now poſſeſs them; for reſtraint and freedom makes ſo great difference in proſperity, that leſs than Liberty, incouraging Trade and Induſtry, would never be able to maintain their Walls againſt the Sea, which are kept up with incredible Labour, Charge, and Ingenuity, but expoſe thoſe parts lying upon the Sea, which are many times more conſiderable than all the reſt, to be devoured by it, or laid much under Water, and ſo rendred inconſiderable.

And

And the truth of this principle in thus much advancing the benefit of freedom above Arbitrary Government, which would be the lot of *Holland* under any Conquerour, may be obſerved by the two Cities of *Weſel* and *Maeſtricht*, which whilſt in the hands of the *Spaniard*, were without Trade, miſerable, wretched, and poor, many of the Houſes of the latter being left in ruins by the Inhabitants, as wanting ability to repair them; and now in leſs than eight or nine and thirty Years, that the States have been Maſters of them, they are both become flouriſhing places, the latter being in a great part new built, with one of the faireſt and beſt new publick Town-Houſes that is ordinarily met with, next *Amſterdam*, and *Auguſtbourg* in *Germany*. But if there were not theſe Conſiderations in the caſe, as well as that of the advantage that the fall of *Holland* would be to the *French*, which alone is ſufficient to engage *England* to ſupport them, it could no way be the Intereſt of *England* to ruine them, to the end to encreaſe their own Trade, becauſe if their aims be only traffick, the World affords matter enough to ſatisfie both Nations, and that *England* hath ſo much the advantage of *Holland* in natural helps for Trade, that if they do but improve them, they cannot miſs of exceeding all others in it; and if they will be careleſs of their common concerns, they ought not to draw an argument from their own neglects and ſloth, for the envying other mens activity and diligence.

And laſtly, ſo long as a firm Peace and amity is maintained by *England* with the *Netherlands*, they may look upon them as the out-works, which muſt be firſt taken in by any Invader that will at-

tempt them; for as it never can be the Intereſt, or in the power of *Holland* to invade *England*, ſo their Intereſt in reference to Religion as well as civil ſecurity, will always oblige them not to ſuffer any others to do it, or to endanger them, in whoſe ſafety they can only be ſafe, it being the clear Intereſt of *England* not to ſuffer any other Potentate to ſubvert their Government: So that upon the whole, ſince the ſubduing of *Holland* cannot be a benefit but loſs to *England*, and may be of great advantage to *France*, and the Church of *Rome*, againſt which they are impregnable Fortreſſes; with ſome ſmaller profit to other Popiſh Soveraigns bordering upon them, as to the Elector of *Colne* and Biſhop of *Munſter*, *&c.* it muſt be the chief Foreign Intereſt of *England* to ſupport the preſent Government of *Holland*.

Thirdly, It is the Intereſt of *England* to hold a good Correſpondence with *Spain*, not only becauſe that People being little inclinable to Commerce, gives a Trading Country the more advantage in their Friendſhip, but alſo for that, that Crown is neceſſarily to be made uſe of, for the ballancing of *France*.

Fourthly and laſtly, As the *French* King ſtriveth for the Protectorſhip of the Romiſh Profeſſion, ſo it is ſurely the King of *England*'s Intereſt to render himſelf (wherein he can have no oppoſition) the General Protector of the Proteſtant Religion; whereby he will become more formidable and glorious than he can by any other means: For as Queen *Elizabeth* adhering thoroughly and cordially to that Party, advancing the Religion, holding Intelligence, and taking part with them in all their engagements, and conſiderable Treaties,

was

was not only able in the infancy of the Reformation in *England*, to maintain the reformed in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, againſt their Enemies, their then ſeveral Sovereigns, but alſo at laſt to bring down *Philip* the Second of *Spain* (one of the wiſeſt and greateſt Kings they ever had) and in him the whole Popiſh Party, by which her memory is made famous unto Poſterity; ſo his Majeſty having many leſs difficulties to ſtruggle with than ſhe had, by eſpouſing the ſame Principles, cannot fail of the like glorious ſucceſs.

And as it is certain, that all Countries are more or leſs great and proſperous, according to the proportion they have in Trade, peaceable and ſecure at home and abroad, according to the prudent Election of their Allies, and purſuance of their Intereſt; ſo the way to increaſe Trade, is to incourage and indulge Induſtry, diſcountenancing all ſorts of people of contrary and idle Principles. And to ſecurity, to ſuit Alliances to Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Intereſts.

And now, to ſum up the Domeſtick Intereſt of *England*, it lyeth in the advancement of Trade, by removing all obſtructions both in City and Country, providing ſuch Laws as may any way help it, and make it moſt eaſy, eſpecially in giving Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts and denying it to Papiſts; In not coveting Foreign Conqueſts, which have always been prejudicial and can never be of advantage to them; and retrench the unreaſonable Fees of Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Officers, as they are great impoveriſhers of the Nation: And as to the Foreign Intereſt of *England*, that may be calculated

to

to be in keeping the ballance among their Neighbours, and other *European Princes*; being in order thereunto, firm to their preſent tripple League, and in that eſpecially to *Holland*, in holding a good correſpondence with *Spain*, and in being jealous of all growing greatneſs in the *French*, keeping the Baltick Sea open, in his Majeſties making himſelf Protector of the whole Proteſtant Party; and as Peace is the advancer of Trade, to ſeek it, and not War, except an inavoidable neceſſity require it. And thus I ſhall conclude this Chapter, and in it, the Intereſt of *England*, with begging pardon of the Author of that Book, Intituled, *A Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, for my Non-Conformity to his Doctrine, which teacheth, that it is ſafer for a Prince to allow Vice and Debauchery, than Liberty of Conſcience; whereby he prefers the breach of the ten Commandments, and that which the whole Word of God, the Old and New Teſtament, the Law and Goſpel, ſo dreadfully threatens and declares againſt, before that, which neither the practice of our Saviour, nor his Apoſtles, nor any Text in Scripture forbids, or at leaſt, himſelf being Judge, not poſitively and indiſputably as they do the other; wherein, I confeſs, I am ſo far from agreeing with him, as alſo in many of his other railing Principles, not much better, that I think the Church of *England* hath reaſon to wiſh his Book had been writ by ſome of another Coat, and of a more remote relation to the Church than the Author is reputed to be, by reaſon of the advantage that their Enemies may have of drawing arguments from it, to prove their old Charge, That the power of Godlineſs is ſo far from being held out

out in the lives, Converſations, and Principles of many of their Prieſts, that they rather ſeek to debauch, and make the people wicked and profane.

This is all I have at preſent to ſay of this Country, beſides adventuring to Propheſie, that when *England* (neglecting Church Politicks, which are commonly founded in paſſion, revenge, and ſelf, and Lawyers Divinity, which is generally collected out of their own Books, more than the Books of God) will effectually purſue their true Intereſt, they cannot fail (their natural advantages for Trade conſidered) of being more great and glorious than any other Nation.

THE

THE INTEREST OF SPAIN.

Spain is the moſt Weſtern part of *Europe*, and by ſome (in alluſion to a Body) called the Head of it, being by the *Pyrenean* Mountains (as by the Neck) joined unto *France*, and incompaſſed on the other ſides, by the Ocean and Mediterranean Seas, and ſince the revolt of *Portugal*, by that Kingdom, which before was under *Spain*.

This Country is made up of ſeveral Provinces and petty Kingdoms, united under one Head and King, who (beſides this Conjunction of Territories, or aggregated body, called and underſtood by the general name of *Spain*) hath, in *Italy* the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Millain*, with ſome other pieces there: In the *Mediterranean*, the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*, all bearing the name of Kingdoms: In the Low-Countries, the greateſt part of thoſe ſeventeen Provinces, known by the name of the *Netherlands*: In *Germany*, the *Franche Comté*, or the County of *Burgundy*: In *Africa*, ſeveral places, as *Ceita*, *&c.* Many Iſlands in the Ocean, ſome in the

the *Eaſt-Indies*, and his *Weſt-India* Plantations, Dominions enough, were they well governed, to render their Prince great and dreadful; But *Spain*, which was able (until 1648.) to hold their own againſt all the power of *Holland*, *Portugal*, and the aſſiſtance of *France*, and until 1660. to do the ſame againſt the power of *France*, *Portugal*, and help of *England*, and in 1667. not to be able to bear up againſt a Corner of *France*, is a clear demonſtration that Miſ-government, in ſuffering all manner of Frauds, and neglecting the Intereſt of a Nation, will ſoon bring the mightieſt Kingdoms low, and lay their honour in the duſt.

As under the name of *Spain*, is underſtood ſeveral Kingdoms and Principalities united in one, ſo each of them have their ſeveral Cuſtoms and Laws, ſome having more, and others leſs priviledges, and of all *Arragon* ſeems to enjoy the greateſt freedom; for when they Crown their King, the Eſtates of their Kingdom (as *Heylin* and *Prin* do both affirm) bring in a man, upon whom for that time, they put the title of Juſtice of *Arragon*, and ſetting him in a ſeat advanced above all others, the King who is then to be received, doth firſt homage to him, and after that, is by the Eſtates Created King upon certain Conditions, and told, that they that are as great as he and can do more than he, have Created him King, upon the then repeated Conditions betwixt him and them; and this Ceremony is, or ought to be triennially executed in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Arragon*.

Their priviledges are ſaid to have been granted, to incourage them againſt the Moors, and it is moſt undeniably true, that no people have ſo much

much cauſe to adventure Lives and Fortunes againſt Invaders, as they who have Eſtates and Priviledges to loſe; for thoſe whoſe condition cannot be made worſe by a Change, have little reaſon to fight for nothing, and this is ſo naturally imprinted in the minds of men, that the dulleſt Peaſants are Maſters of it; nay even ſuch of them as in all other things are acted meerly by ſenſe, and not by reaſon, in this act rationally, as the Country Man in his Proverb, *that they may better Play for nothing than work for nothing*, fully expreſſeth, and we find this alſo made good in our time in *Hungary*, where the Proteſtants remaining paſſive, have deſired that the Turk might prevail rather than the Emperour, becauſe under him, paying a moderate Tribute, they are protected in the enjoyment of their Eſtates, and exerciſe of their Conſcience, it being Death for a Turk to abuſe a Chriſtian upon the bare account of his Religion (a good preſident for Chriſtian Princes,) whereas under the Emperour (he being acted by the Jeſuits) they are not (or at leaſt were not lately) ſuffered to enjoy either Conſcience or Eſtate, if they could not joyn in the Idolatrous Worſhip, and approve of the wicked and ridiculous Doctrine of *Rome*; by which Principle it is, that the Emperour, who was not long ſince a match for *France*, *Sweden*, and ſeveral Proteſtant Princes, is no more conſiderable at this day: for as the way for any Prince to make himſelf formidable in the World is to uſe all juſt means to increaſe his people, provoking them to induſtry, and a lawful emulation in acquiring of Eſtates (without which no Country can be great) ſo the inducement to induſtry is, the granting of priviledges that may ſecure men in the

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enjoyment of the fruits of their labours; for industry and ingenuity are not the effects of the barrenness of a Country, oppression of the People, or want of Land, as the Author of the State of *England* hath of late asserted, but the effects only of Justice, good Laws and liberty: there are Examples enough in the World of barren Countries and great impositions producing no such effects; as *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, do witness: Neither doth the barrenness of that part of *Italy* wherein *Rome* stands, make that City flourish now under Ecclesiastical Oppression, as it antiently did under Justice and good order; nor doth the barrenness of that land (with the oppression of the great Turk) where the ruins of *Athens* yet remain (sad Monuments of the decay of that once famous State) make that place, or any other part of *Greece* flourish now, as it formerly did under freedom and good Administration; but the good Laws and liberty of the City of *Neurenburgh* in *Germany*, which lyeth in a barren soil, may be observed to be the cause of the great ingenuity, industry, and populousness of that City and Country about it.

The want of Land in *Holland*, nor the great Taxes (instanced in by the fore-mentioned Author) are not (according to his new Philosophy) the causes of their industry, but their liberty and good Laws, framed singly to the Interest of the publick (without consideration of any other) are the causes of it, good or bad Government being chiefly that which makes any Country prosperous or miserable; so that our pretended Statist, that fetcheth the reason of the prosperity of a people from the want of Land, the barrenness of

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the Country, and oppreſſion of the Subjects, muſt be out in his politicks, for that it is not within the reach of his learning to give an inſtance of any one Country, that ever grew diffuſively rich by any other means than liberty and good Government.

The *Hollanders* as they were always under a great degree of liberty, ſo they were (compared with other Countries) always populous; yet as their freedom hath increaſed, ſo have their people, they being now much more populous than in former days: for to ſay that want of Land, and great impoſitions, will bring ſtrangers to a Country and make them Induſtrious, is as much as to ſay, that Poverty and Famine will do it; but it's irrational, and becoming none but half-witted men, to think that ſtrangers upon an ordinary account will make it their choice to ſettle in a ſtarving and oppreſſing Country.

Were not the cold Climate of *New England* ſupplied and helped by good Laws and Diſcipline, the barrenneſs of that Country would never have brought people to it, nor have advanced it in conſideration and formidableneſs, above thoſe other Engliſh Plantations exceeding it much in fertility, and other inviting qualities: and as it is by ſtrangers (which none can deny) that *Holland* abounds (above all other places) in people, it muſt be good Laws, with good Government, Adminiſtration of Juſtice and Liberty, that draws ſuch multitudes to them, and that makes them ſo induſtrious and rich as they now are; and it cannot be leſs than non-ſence, or a brain-ſick humour in any, to complain of the great charge they are at in *Holland*, and the oppreſſion they lie under there,

there, when the people thrive, and grow vaſtly rich, beſide that populouſneſs from ſtrangers, freedom from Beggars, a people well cloathed, ſtrong and healthful, are not the marks of ſlavery but of freedom, all which Characters are in no one place found, ſave in *Holland*, nor any one of them in *France*, where they are in no want of impoſitions and oppreſſion. And now to ſpeak more particularly to the Taxes and Impoſitions in *Holland*, quoted by the forementioned Book, as an example to other Countries; they are,

Firſt, no more than what is neceſſary in a frugal way for ſupport of their Government and protection of their Commerce (which all people ought chearfully to ſubmit unto) and levied without any material burthen to Trade, becauſe from it they muſt derive all their power and greatneſs.

Secondly, What is collected is not vainly ſpent, or paid away in great Salaries, an imployment of 200 *l. ſterl. per annum*, being rare amongſt them, for even *Monſieur de Wit*, who is according to common fame (which is generally a good Intelligencer) one of the wiſeſt Stateſmen and Counſellors of this Age, and of the greateſt uprightneſs, faithfulneſs, diligence, and induſtry for his Country, and ſo conſequently of greateſt merit, had not until of late above 400 *l.* Salary *per annum*, and hath it yet but little augmented: nor are they couſened by their Officers, but have their income truly expended for their neceſſary defence, and for the advancement of Trade; for had not Traffick by good Laws, and prudent Conduct, the benefit of their impoſitions, they could no more flouriſh than a Farmer could be rich, that reaped

not the fruit of the improvement of his Land, which he made at his own coſt and charges.

Neither is it to be imagined, that were not the people of *Holland* fully ſatisfied in the true and faithful diſpoſal of their money (how great ſoever their Taxes may be) for the good of the publick, and that it is not vainly ſpent and trifled away, it were poſſible to keep them in peace, becauſe as they are a people frugal in their natures and diſpoſitions, ſo they would otherwiſe be haters of profuſeneſs, and mutinous againſt it in their Truſtees; and the truth of this appears, not only in that it was far ſhort of what they now pay (the riches of the Country then and now even conſidered) that made them groan under their burthens in times of peace (which they do not now) and Beggars (compared to what they now are) under the King of *Spain*, and provoked them to revolt, but alſo in that (notwithſtanding their Taxes) Foreign Commodities, and home Manufactures (though made of materials fetched from other Countries) are in the general cheaper than in other places, nay their proviſions, though they are for ſeven parts in eight of them indebted unto the Sea and Foreign Commerce, are yet as cheap as at *London*, their publick half Crown Ordinaries, being for their rate better, and ſome ſorts of Wine at leſs than half the price they are there, in ſo much that their great Gabels, through a prudent management, are no burthen to their people; for their Country being all Traders, either in their perſons or Eſtates, and all they pay being laid out for their protection, and the improvement of Trade, their impoſitions return unto them in an advantageous Circulation, which

which other places not under the like circumſtances are not capable of, and therefore it is a great miſtake in thoſe, who though aſhamed to plead againſt riches in the people (as the Author of the State of *England* doth) yet being willing to maintain a harmleſneſs in unlimited Taxes, do make uſe of the new notion of Circulation, in arguing from the example of one place to another, when the parallel or reaſon doth not hold; for beſide the indigency of the Countries before inſtanced in (which are ſufficiently burthened with impoſitions without thriving by them) I appeal to Gentlemen that have nothing but their Rents to live upon, whether they find by experience, any help towards Taxes, from the new notion of Circulation: but the maxim of keeping the people poor, having been ſo miſchievous and unſucceſsful in the World, and particularly to *Spain*; it is matter of wonder it ſhould ſtill be alive to the prejudice of Mankind. And it is a very uncharitable as well as unpolitick principle, becauſe,

Firſt, It is an incumbent duty upon every one to do as they would be done by, and that it is to be preſumed, that thoſe that plead moſt for Poverty in others, would not be willing to be brought under it themſelves.

And ſecondly, For that although the principle of keeping the people poor, that never knew what riches were, may be practiſed, it is dangerous to adventure to reduce a people to ſuch a condition, that have known the comfort of plenty, and been uſed to a full way of living, as the revolt of the Low Countries is a ſufficient indication thereof. But to leave this digreſſion if (being occaſioned by that Scandalous and vile

Book, called *the State of* England, the further cenſuring whereof I leave to Authority) it deſerves the name.

This great Province of *Spain*, bordering upon no Country but *France* (ſave *Portugal*) and having no way by Land to it, but over dreadful Mountains, could never have had any probability of carrying the Univerſal Monarchy as it had long deſigned, had it not in the proſecution thereof, been indiſſolubly united to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; for otherwiſe, though it hath many conſiderable Countries depending upon it, and belonging to it, yet being ſcattered over moſt parts of the World, they would have been of little uſe in ſo great a deſign. For *Spain* being divided from the reſt of that Kings Dominions, and in the general a barren and unpeopled Country, wanting proviſions, and the hotneſs of the Climate rendering the people the more unfit for colder Countries, was not alone qualified for Northern Conqueſts, eſpecially not of ſo populous a Country as *France*, through which they muſt firſt have made their way; But as it was unſeparably united to the Auſtrian Family, and ſo to its large Intereſt in *Germany* on one ſide of that great body, and on the other ſide, owner of thoſe conſiderable *Netherlands* called the ſeventeen Provinces, with a commanding Intereſt in *Italy*, in the poſſeſſion of *Naples*, *Milain*, and ſome other pieces there, beſide the Iſlands of *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *&c.* in the Mediterranean, and it ſelf conveniently placed for managing his *Weſt*, and (then great) *Eaſt-India* Trade, and for eſtabliſhing the chief Seat of rule, from whence it might without fear of diſturbance, iſſue its directions, as from the Head to the Members,

bers, it is matter of admiration that it prevailed not in the deſign, and that they failed in the attempt, is next under God (who doth often reprove Princes, by blaſting their ambitious and unjuſt deſigns againſt their Subjects or Neighbours) to be attributed to the revolt and wiſe Conduct of the ſeven United Provinces, together with the conſtant and faithful adherence of good Queen *Elizabeth* to her and the Kingdom of *Englands* true Intereſt at that time, in a Cordial aſſiſting the States General, either privately or publickly, from their firſt revolt to the end of her Reign.

Whilſt *Spain* was upon their great deſign, they thought it their Intereſt as it really was (although not then Great *Britains* but the contrary) to make Peace with *England*, which they accompliſhed ſoon after King *James* came to the Crown, aiming thereby to ſecure their *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trades, and enable them the better to act the Papiſts in *England* againſt their King and Country (as appeared ſoon after by the Gun-Powder-Plot) and proſecute their War againſt the *United Netherlands*, wherein they were ſurely exceeding right; but having before miſſed their Intereſt, in depopulating their Country by perſecution, expulſion of the Moors, and Foreign Plantations (which no State deſigning Conqueſt ſhould do) and in quarrelling with *Holland* at ſo great a diſtance (when by reaſon of the enmity of *England*, they could not without great hazard approach them by Sea) and before they were Maſters of any paſſage to them by Land, other than after tranſportation of their ſuccors by Ships to *Final*, then carrying them through *Italy* over the *Alpes*,

and at last crossing *Germany*, a march as it is difficult, so likewise so chargeable beyond support, that they thereby ruined themselves, whereas had they been content to have suffered the *Netherlands* to have enjoyed their priviledges due to them from all Antiquity, and so kept them under their obedience, and in them the considerable advantage of their assistance, until by Conquest they had made their way to them by Land, *Spain* would according to the eye of reason, have been beyond controul, able to have invaded *France* on all sides with more than probable good success; but their unsatiable, lofty, swelling minds, disdaining all Dominion not founded in arbitrary and absolute will and pleasure, *Holland* became a stone of stumbling to them, against which they were dashed in pieces, in exhausting their vast Treasure, wasting their Men, destroying their Naval strength, and levelling of them to other Princes and States, which sufficiently evinceth the danger and charge of maintaining at a distance, a War which must by Sea be supplied.

And were not the depraved nature of man so blinded by ambition and covetousness, that it can hardly make a true Judgement of things, it could not but in taking right measures of the several kinds of limited and Arbitrary Monarchies, find that Kings and Princes would be much happier, greater, and more formidable under the first than latter. For although an absolute Prince, may with seeming reason think, that he is more considerable when he hath the Estates of his Subjects wholly at his Arbitrary Devotion, than when he hath but part, yet upon a true ballance of circumstances,

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a part under one Government, will be found to exceed the whole under the other, in that where there is a contentedneſs in a Prince, under limitations, it begets ſuch a confidence betwixt him and his people, in the conjunction of Counſels for the prevention of frauds and deceits, and the improvement of publick good (their joint Intereſt) as renders Military power needleſs, and ſo ſaves the charge of all other inſtruments of force, ſave thoſe neceſſary for civil adminiſtration, which peaceable conſtitution tending naturally to the increaſing Trade, and in that the wealth of a Nation, the riches of Prince and People grow reciprocally together, and that each to a degree much above what it is poſſible for them both, or either, to arrive at under Tyranny; for where that is the Government, Ingenuity, Induſtry, and Trade (the foundations of every Nations greatneſs) muſt be diſcouraged, for that no people that have not an aſſurance of the enjoyment of the fruits of their labours, have any reaſon to be induſtrious further than for preſent ſubſiſtence; and if a Prince by Arbitrary Impoſitions, is able to levy more upon his people than peradventure by mutual conſent he could do, yet when the extraordinary charge in keeping by force of Arms his Subjects in ſlavery (to the obſtructing Trade and Induſtry) and the couſening and cheating in all ſorts of Officers, which ſuch Governments muſt allow, is deducted, the clear revenue of the Prince will by the ballance be found much leſs than what it would be under a limited Monarchy, where Trade is improved, and deceit prevented; beſide that the debaſement of the Spirits of his own people, who are never ſo gallant under ſla-

very as liberty, and in a great meaſure the loſs of the uſe of them, in that under Tyranny they cannot ſafely be confided in, without a mixture of Strangers, is not ſmall, as our Neighbour Nation doth clearly demonſtrate, that King judging it not only his ſecurity, but alſo neceſſary for him, even whilſt his Country is over-ſtockt with people, to make uſe of Foreigners to mix with them, without which his own Subjects would be inſignificant againſt other Countries, and dangerous as to himſelf; nor is the want of that content and ſatisfaction of mind, which all men not unnatural, take in the affection of their people, of little account; neither is this conſideration to be deſpiſed, that if ſuch Governments fall to weak Princes, they run great hazard of ſudden ſubverſion, oppreſſed people being apt to take all advantages that may ſeem to promiſe eaſe, or if they ſhall be more peaceably diſpoſed, it will prove but the giving way to a languiſhing diſtemper, which will end in a certain Death, as may be ſhewn by plentiful inſtances, where the inability or weakneſs of one hath loſt more, than the ſucceſſion of ſeveral able Princes have acquired.

And if any in oppoſition of this do object the example of a Kingdom not far off, they may be anſwered, that beſide that degree of freedom, which their Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and in ſome kind their Trading Cities enjoy, they are ſaved by ſome circumſtances, that other Countries cannot hope for, as by the formidableneſs of their Reformed Subjects, who (being always true to the Princes of the blood, never conteſting with their Soveraigns but for Liberty of Conſcience

ſcience in Religion, when denied it contrary to their Laws) were a perpetual awe upon the Papiſts, and when they have Confederated againſt their Kings, the Proteſtants have frequently been their ruine, and as oft the preſervation of the Crown; beſide that the ſucceſſion of two ſuch Miniſters of State, as ſerved that Nation, who having had neither Wives nor known legitimate Children, had the leſs temptations to uſurpation, cannot be again expected: and I dare further undertake to Propheſie, that that Prince and People, who ſhall at any time be bleſſed with this harmony and agreement in Government, ſhall thereby be much more proſperous, happy, and formidable than ever they were before, or can by any other way be hereafter.

And this obſervation I own to have been firſt made Maſter of, by that excellent anſwer of *Charles* the Firſt of *England* to the nineteen Propoſitions, preſented him by the long Parliament, where reciting the Vertues and Vices of the three ſeveral Forms of Government, as abſolute Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, he prefers the Government of *England*, as it is a mixed and regulated Monarchy beyond all other, in that it hath the conveniency of them all without the inconveniency of any one. And ſurely there is no Government good like that, where the liberties and priviledges of the people are ſo fortified by Laws, that they are beyond the invaſion of their Princes; for King *James* acknowledgeth that he was ordained for the good of his People, and not they ordained for him; and *Charles* the firſt of *England*, in his forementioned anſwer ſaith, That there is legally placed in both Houſes

Houſes of Parliament a power more than ſufficient to prevent and reſtrain the power of Tyranny.

The Duke of *Tuskany* may be held a rational inſtance of this aſſertion, that abſolute power is a prejudice to any Prince, in that the multitude of Taxes which he Arbitrarily lays upon his People, are ſuch, as hath in a great meaſure depopulated his Country, and deſtroyed the Commerce of it, without bringing near ſo much into his Coffers, as whilſt the Country was under freedom, it did inſenſibly contribute for publick good and preſervation, or as the City of *Amſterdam* alone is ſaid to ſpend yearly in charitable uſes; as on the contrary, the famous things that great Queen *Elizabeth* of happy memory did during her Reign, having been in War with her Neighbours round about her the greateſt part of the 45. Years of her time, beſide in almoſt continual action with *Ireland*, and ſometimes at home (from the turbulent Rebellious humour of her Popiſh Subjects) and that in all, with glorious ſucceſs, is a pregnant demonſtration of the benefit that an affectionate agreement in Government betwixt Prince and People (under a mixed Monarchy) brings to a Country.

If the *French* King who brags and glories moſt in his abſoluteneſs (though he exerciſeth it totally but over his poor miſerable Peaſants and ſmaller Cities) ſhould compare what his clear yearly income would be under regulated Monarchy, whereby he might increaſe Trade, ſpare the charge of vaſt Armies, many Garriſons, prevent fraud and couſenage, with what it is at preſent under his Arbitrary Power, with all the prejudicial

cial circumſtances attending it; it may with reaſon be ſuppoſed, that that rich and good land would afford a far greater intrade under the firſt than latter Government; and the *Spaniard* hath cauſe to acknowledge the truth of this Principle, ſince their King chuſing (contrary to the Belgick Liberties) to carry on the War in his *Netherlands* by his own ſingle Counſels and Foreign Forces (wherein they met with nothing but rapine, guile, and corruption) rather than conform to the priviledges of the Country in joining with the Eſtates of it (who in ſuch caſe offered to maintain forty thouſand men at their own charge) hath had ſo great an influence upon their decay, if not been the ſole cauſe of it.

The like obſervations might be made of other abſolute Governments, but this ſhall ſerve, as being ſufficient to ſhew how *Spain* from the height of glory, promiſing to themſelves the Univerſal Soveraignty of Chriſtendom, is by the means of a ſmall beginning, the revolt of a handful of their own deſpiſed Subjects (occaſioned by ill Government and invading of their priviledges) brought to change their deſign from that of ſwallowing up all Dominion, to that of ſeeking their own preſervation by a League with thoſe that at firſt they thought to have extirpated, having now no way left to preſerve themſelves, their *Weſt-India* Territories and Trade thither, and what elſe they have any where in the World, but to hold it their true Domeſtick Intereſt,

Firſt, To reconcile all differences at home, uniting thoroughly there, that ſo they may be the better able to agree (as it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary for them to do) upon methodical and well digeſted

digeſted means for their defence and preſervation, and keeping their Vice-Roys and Governours in all their Territories true to them, in caſe Death ſhould deprive them of their young King, becauſe ſhould ſuch an unhappineſs befal them, and that they ſhould then be found in diviſions and diſtractions, it would give great advantage to the *French* (who will be ſure at ſuch a time to fall ſuddenly upon them in all places) and be an inducement to their great Officers in all their ſeveral Dominions, to hearken to the temptations of the *French* (their Enemies) who will not fail (according to their uſual practice) of aſſaulting their fidelities, with promiſes of the greateſt rewards, corruption being the inſtrument they do the greateſt things with.

Secondly, Since neither the Emperour, nor Pope, is now able to afford this King any ſuch aſſiſtance, as is to be ſolely relied upon, it is his Intereſt to ſet aſide all Church Politicks, and former pretended religious Artifices for perſecution, and to give all his Subjects incouragement, if not by toleration in Religion, yet by a tacit abatement of the rigour of his proceedings againſt them upon that account, as a means the better to oblige the Reformed Princes and States to him; and as the affairs of Chriſtendom now ſtand, in relation to *France*, even the Pope himſelf, if he underſtood his own Intereſt, and were not blinded by malice and ſuperſtitious zeal, could not be averſe to this, in that it is folly for him to think, that his gaudy Copes, Croſſes, and tripple Crown will defend his See againſt the *French* King, after he hath by the help of his Paſtorial Staff hooked in all the reſt, and that he will not reduce both him and

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Peters Chair to their original, and to his own devotion. And now as to the Foreign Intereſt of this Kingdom, it is,

Firſt, Cordially to unite with *England*, the States of *Holland*, the Northern Kings and Princes, againſt the growing greatneſs of *France*, and for oppoſing that King in all his endeavours for further additions, eſpecially in his deſigns upon the *Spaniſh* and United *Netherlands*, for ſhould he gain thoſe of them lying upon the Sea, whether by Conqueſt, Treaty, or Purchaſe, he will then find Ports and Havens there ſufficient to increaſe his Naval ſtrength, and want nothing needful for the total ruine of *Spain*, ſave a pretence (which he will eaſily invent) for quarrelling with them; for by ſuch acquiſitions, his greatneſs both at Land and Sea would be ſo much augmented, that he would be able to run them down in all places both at home and abroad, ſpoiling them in their *Weſt-India* Trade (their chief ſupport) whereas without better and more conveniently ſituated Harbours than his own, he can never be very great at Sea, and without being formidable there, no Prince in Chriſtendom can exceed in greatneſs at Land.

And *Spain* having in their late Wars in 1667. had ſufficient experience of *France*, they cannot (if what they charge upon them in reference thereunto, be true) with prudence or ſafety rely upon any Treaties with them, how plain or clear ſoever they may be, or truſt to any thing leſs than the ſtrength and intereſt of their Allies in conjunction with their own to defend themſelves againſt *France*; and of this, *Spain* hath the more cauſe to be ſenſible, ſince they are the beſt able

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to judge of the danger other Countries were in, whilst they themselves designed the Universal Monarchy, out of which enterprize the *French* have at present justled them, taking it to themselves, and are now as formidable in it as they ever were.

Secondly, It is the true Foreign Interest of *Spain*, to over-look and forget all their pretences or titles to *Portugal*, how good soever they may be, and to make a firm and cordial League with that Crown, for anticipating *France*, in having it as a back Door for entring *Spain* from thence, as by the way of *Perpinion* on the one side, and by St. *John de Luce* on the other side, they have already advantages for the invasion of it. And thus upon the whole, the *Spaniard* having no Trade but to their own Plantations and Countries, nor genius to any further prospect in it, their Interest may be summed up in self-preservation: And this is all I have to say of *Spain* at this time.

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THE INTEREST OF PORTUGAL.

Portugal, under which name (beſide that Country properly called ſo) is compriſed *Algarva* (ſometime a ſmall Kingdom) lyeth on the Weſtern part of *Spain*, bounded on that ſide by the Ocean Sea, having on the Coaſt near three hundred Miles in length, with eighty or a hundred Miles in breadth; it is neither populous nor fruitful, but thin of people, and ſo barren, that had not the King a Revenue coming by Trade from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* (where they have large Plantations) and ſome other Iſlands, as from the *Azores*, *&c.* his income would do little to the ſupport of his Dignity and Government.

In the Year 1640. this Kingdom (after it had been near ſixty Years under the King of *Spain*) revolted, and ſet up the Duke of *Brigance*, Crowning of him King, from whence enſued a War betwixt the two Crowns, which continued until the Year ſixteen hundred ſixty ſeven, that by the mediation of *England* a Peace was concluded betwixt them.

The ground of their conteſt was their ſeveral Titles,

Titles, derived from one and the ſame Common Anceſtor, *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, who left ſix Children, four Sons and two Daughters, as followeth.

Sons { *John*, *Lewis*, *Henry*, *Edward* } Daughters { *Iſabella.*, *Beatrix.* }

John ſucceeded his Father, and had *John*, who had *Sebaſtian*, (reputed to be ſlain by the Moors in *Barbary*) who dying withour Children, the Line of *John* Eldeſt Son of *Emanuel* expired in him.

Lewis ſecond Son of *Emanuel* died before his great Nephew King *Sebaſtian*, and left only *Don Antonio* a Baſtard Son, who upon the Death of *Sebaſtian* was Proclaimed King by thoſe of *Lisbon*, but after forced to fly for *England*.

Henry the third Son of *Emanuel* (a Cardinal) was after the Death of his great Nephew *Sebaſtian* Crowned King.

Edward the fourth Son of *Emanuel*, and his youngeſt Child, left two Daughters, *Mary* and *Katherine*.

Iſabella eldeſt Daughter of *Emanuel*, was married to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, from whom is lineally deſcended the preſent King of *Spain*.

Beatrix ſecond Daughter of *Emanuel*, was married to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* from whom is deſcended that Duke.

Mary the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward*, youngeſt Son of *Emanuel*, was married to *Alexander* Duke

Duke of *Parma*, from whom that Family is deſcended.

Katherine the younger Daughter of *Edward*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brigance*, from whom the preſent King of *Portugal* is deſcended.

Henry the third Son of *Emanuel*, in whom was the undoubted right to the Crown, (*Don Antonio* being a Baſtard) after the Death of his great Nephew *Sebaſtian* (as is before-mentioned) was Crowned King in the Year 1578. who being an old Man without Children, and ſenſible of the diſputes that would ariſe after his Deceaſe about the Succeſſion, erected a Judicature, to hear and determine the ſeveral Claims pretending to the Crown, of which there were five, (*viz.*)

Firſt, *Don Antonio* Son of *Lewis*, ſecond Son of *Emanuel*.

Secondly, *Philip* the ſecond. King of *Spain*, Grandchild to *Emanuel*, by his eldeſt Daughter *Iſabella*.

Thirdly, *Phillibert* Duke of *Savoy*, Grandchild to *Emanuel*, by his ſecond Daughter *Beatrix*,

Fourthly, *Mary* Dutcheſs of *Parma*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* youngeſt Son of *Emanuel*, and younger Brother to *Henry* King Cardinal.

Fifthly, *Katherine* Dutcheſs of *Brigance*, youngeſt Daughter of *Edward*, youngeſt Son of *Emanuel*.

The Court for Claims erected by King *Henry* aſſembled and ſat, where each pretender by himſelf, Deputies or Advocates, pleaded their ſeveral Titles.

Don Antonio pleaded his own Cauſe himſelf,

alledging the Marriage of his Mother to *Lewis* his Father, but after a full hearing he was excluded (his Uncle King Cardinal being present) as being judged Illegitimate, and that for these reasons.

First, Because he had been reputed a Bastard all his Days, never any Man before calling the truth of it in question.

Secondly, Because when Pope *Julius* the Third put forth a Decree against the promotion of Bastards, *Don Antonio* sued to be exempted, and thereby owned his Bastardy.

Thirdly, Because *Lewis* his Father, by his last Will and Testament declared him his Bastard Son.

Fourthly, Because *Lewis* his Father never acquainted any Friends with his Marriage of his Mother, as was probable he would have done to some of them, notwithstanding she was of mean Birth, and of the race of the Jews (the reason suggested why he did not) had it been true, and especially to his Brother King *Henry*, who was with him in his sickness.

And Fifthly, Because the Witnesses brought to prove the Marriage of his Mother to his Father, confessed that they were suborned thereunto. But in this Case, *Henry* King Cardinal was no competent Judge; because had *Don Antonio* been judged Legitimate, the Kings title had been out of doors, he being but the third Son of *Emanuel*, as *Lewis* the Father of *Don Antonio* was the second, and therefore it is possible the Witnesses might be threatned, and suborned into the confession of subornation.

Philip the Second, King of *Spain*, pleaded by several

ſeveral Learned Lawyers, Firſt, That being Grandchild to *Emanuel* by his eldeſt Daughter, and the Dukes of *Parma* and *Brigance* but great Grandchildren to him, by Daughters of a younger Son, who never lived to be King; he was one degree nearer to *Emanuel*, as alſo to the then preſent King, than either of the other two, which the Civilians pretended to be ſtrong Arguments in their Law.

Secondly, that when *John* the baſe Son of *Pedro*, was Crowned King of *Portugal*, it was to the injury of the King of *Caſtile*, the right being in him, as having then Married *Beatrix* the Legitimate Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinando* King of *Portugal*, Legitimate Son of *Pedro*, whereas *John* was but Baſtard Son of *Pedro*, and Baſtard Brother to *Ferdinando* Father to *Beatrix*.

Thirdly, Becauſe *Portugal* was given away by a former King of *Caſtile*, in Marriage with one of his Daughters, contrary to the Law of the Land.

The Duke of *Parma* pleaded by *Farneſo* Biſhop of *Parma*, that being Son of the Eldeſt Daughter of *Edward*, fourth Son of *Emanuel*, he ought to be preferred before the King of *Spain*, being but Son of a Daughter of *Emanuel*, and therefore as trueſt Heir, in deriving from the Male Line, laid Claim to the Crown,

The Duke of *Brigance* pleaded his Cauſe himſelf, and againſt *Spain* alledged the ſame as *Parma* did, and to bar *Parma*, who was deſcended from the Eldeſt Daughter, as himſelf was from the Younger, that *Parma* was an Alien (being an *Italian*) and he a natural born *Portugueſe*.

The Duke of *Savoy* pleaded his Cauſe by *Charles*

Revero (afterwards a Cardinal) but he being deſcended from a Younger Daughter of *Emanuel*, as the King of *Spain* was from the Eldeſt, he was preſently excluded as having no colour of right.

Beſide theſe pretenders, Queen *Katherine* of *France* would have put in her Claim, as deſcended by her Mother from *Alphonſo*, the Third King of *Portugal*, but the Plea being groundleſs, they denied to receive it, and ſo the diſpute remained between the King of *Spain*, and the two Dukes of *Parma* and *Brigance*; but King *Henry* dying whilſt the buſineſs was in hot debate, and before he had decided the Controverſy, the King of *Spain* (making himſelf Judge in the Caſe) ſeized upon the Kingdom, which He, his Son and Grandſon enjoyed near ſixty Years after.

Now the Caſe ſtanding thus betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; it is conſequently the Intereſt of the *Portugueſe*, to be jealous of *Spain* (who will hardly forget their Title to the Crown of *Portugal*) being always upon their Watch towards them, and to make Leagues with Foreign Princes and States for aſſiſtance whenever they ſhall be fallen upon by the *Spaniard*; and as *France* lyeth neareſt to them (except *Spain*) and ſo beſt able to do them moſt good or harm, to hold fair with them, yet without truſting them (who practiſe a great Latitude in breach of Articles) too far, or even their own Queen (if without Heirs of her Body) becauſe a French Lady, who are generally of buſie working Spirits in matters of State. And the deſigns of the *French* being manifeſtly for increaſe and greatneſs, bogling at nothing that may ſtand in their way, ſhould the young King of *Spain* he ſwept away by Death, without

without leaving Iſſue, the *French* Kings pretences would be as well to *Portugal* as *Spain*, which conſideration doth alſo oblige this King in prudence, to ſeek (if poſſible) a hearty Union and League with *Spain*, for their mutual defence and preſervation againſt *France*.

How it comes that this people, who by their inclination to Trade, and ſucceſs in it, had formerly acquired the Character of the rich Merchants of *Portugal*, ſhould now ſo little (as they do) deſerve that name, I cannot conceive, except by falling under a more ſevere Government than antiently, they are (according to the natural conſequences thereof) fallen from their ingenuity and induſtry: or that the induſtry and ingenuity that Reformation in Religion hath brought into the World, beyond what it had under Popiſh Darkneſs and Slavery; the Reformiſts, by their wiſe and prudent Conduct, have eaten them out of all Trade, ſave to their own Iſlands in the Ocean, and the *Weſt-Indies*, which is all they have entirely kept, having in a great meaſure loſt their Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as they have alſo (their circumſtances conſidered) all capability of further increaſe in it. And now this is all I have to ſay of the Intereſt of this Country at this time.

THE INTEREST OF THE United Netherlands.

THE *Netherlands* are called ſo by lying low upon and towards the Sea, containing ſeventeen diſtinct Provinces, incompaſſed with *France*, *Germany*, the Britiſh and Northern Seas; they formerly belonged all to the King of *Spain*, until *Philip* the Second by oppreſſion, and invading their priviledges, cauſed thoſe Countries known by the name of the *United Netherlands* (of whoſe Intereſt it is I here deſign ſingly to write) to aſſert their Rites and Liberties, by a Union for common defence and preſervation, and in order thereunto, to lay aſide their limited Prince or Chief Magiſtrate, turning their Government into that of a Common-wealth or Republick.

Theſe ſeven United Provinces are, *Gelderland*, with *Zutphen* annexed to it, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friezeland*, *Overyſſel*, and *Groningen*, which in the States account are in number but ſeven, becauſe beſide that the King of *Spain* hath remaining to him the City of *Gelder*, with a fourth part of that Dutchy; *Zutphen* being ſmall is added to *Gelderland* (as it antiently uſed to be) and

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ſo both are reckoned but for one, and that under the name of *Gelderland*.

As theſe Countries do lie all more or leſs upon the Sea, ſo thoſe Provinces are moſt conſiderable that lie moſt upon it, as *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friezeland*, of which three the firſt is alone of more conſideration than all the other ſix jointly; from whence it is, that by way of eminence, *Holland* vulgarly denominates the whole Union, although *Gelderland*, being a Dutchy, hath in Council precedence of it as it is but an Earldom.

Gelderland is the largeſt Province, but having the moſt Gentry, and ſo leaſt Trade, is one of the pooreſt; it hath of Cities or Havens lying upon the Sea, not any ſave *Harderwick*, an old decayed Univerſity (lately tranſlated to *Nimmeguen*) ſtanding alſo but upon that broad Water, or Inland Sea, called the Southern Sea, which flows to *Amſterdam*.

This Province is parted into three Diviſions, called *Nimmeguen*, *Arnheim*, and *Zutphen*; the chief Aſſembly or Parliament for the whole (which is the Soveraign Power of the Province) is held yearly at each of theſe three Cities alternatively. This Aſſembly is Conſtituted of Deputies, ſent from all the three Diviſions, by the Gentry and Cities, who in their ſeveral Diviſions are of equal Power, each Diviſion having (how many Deputies ſoever they may ſend) but one Voice in their general Aſſembly for the whole Province, ſo that all matters are decided by two of the three Voices, ſave in ſome Caſes, wherein there muſt not be a Negative; and as this is the Conſtitution of the Legiſlative Power of this Province (called the States Provincial) who meet of

courſe four times a Year certain, and ofter as occaſion requires, ſo the ſame Orders that ſend theſe for their ſupream power, ſend alſo a certain number of other perſons to the ſame Reſidence, as a Committee of State, which ſits continually in the interval of the States Provincial, and ſummons or calls them together upon extraordinary occaſions as they ſee cauſe, but during the ſitting of the States Provincial, the power of the Committee ceaſeth.

Holland being an Earldom is the ſecond in place, and in common appellation divided into South and North *Holland*, but in Law the latter part is called *Weſt-Eriezeland* (and the firſt part only *Holland*) diſtinguiſhed by the addition of Weſt, from that Province called ſingly *Friezeland*, as it is from that Country belonging to the Empire, called *Eaſt-Friezeland*; ſo that when in reading, *Weſt-Friezeland* is mentioned, it is to be underſtood the North part of *Holland*, as *Friezeland* ſingly and without addition, is one of the ſeven *United Netherlands*, and *Eaſt-Friezeland*, a County of the Empire belonging to an Earl of that name (made lately by the Emperour a Prince of the Empire.)

This Province lyeth upon the Sea, having broad Waters on all other ſides, with ſeveral Iſlands belonging to it. It hath in all thirty one Cities, whereof eighteen are ſuch, as ſend (by the Election of the reſpective Councils of each City) Deputies to the Parliament, or ſupream power of the Province, which I ſhall hereafter call the States Provincial of *Holland*, according to their uſual ſtile in ſpeaking, not only of this Province, but alſo of all the other individual Provinces

Provinces of the Union, whoſe chief Aſſemblies are alſo called the States Provincial of each reſpective Province.

Of theſe Cities, *Dordrecht*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, *Amſterdam*, *Goude*, and *Rotterdam* in *South-Holland*, *Alkmer*, *Horne*, and *Enchuſen* in *North-Holland* have the greateſt Trades, but none comparable to *Amſterdam*, which alone bears a quarter part of all the publick Charges of the whole Province, and yet in Council hath but the fifth place according to its antient right, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and *Leiden*, having all precedence of it.

As the eighteen Voting Cities (for ſo they are called) have in the Provincial States each one Voice, ſo the Gentry (which are now but nine Families, ſeveral being lately extinct) taken jointly and altogether, are made equivalent to one City, and have likewiſe one Voice, and thereby make the Provincial States of *Holland* (who meet always at the *Hague*) to conſiſt in the whole of nineteen Voices, where all matters are decided by plurality of Votes, ſaving in ſome few particulars, wherein there muſt not be a Negative, and alſo the ſame Cities and Gentry ſend likewiſe other diſtinct perſons to the *Hague*, to conſtitute a Committee or Council of State.

The Provincial States meet four times a Year certain, and ofter as occaſion requires, and in their interval, the Committee of State ſits continually, and calls them together upon extraordinary occaſions, as they ſee cauſe, ſending alſo with the ſummons a particular of the heads which are to be debated in the Aſſembly, to the end, that the Council of every City, conſidering of the matter

matter among themselves, may give such Orders therein to their respective Deputies as they shall judge fit, no other business being to be treated of in the Provincial States, than such, as notice was first given of to each City; and this rule is also observed in the other Provinces, as well as in this; but the power of the Committee of State ceaseth, during the sitting of the States Provincial, they being the supream power of the Province.

Zealand is a Province made up of several Islands, lying in and upon the Sea, to the number of eight, *Walkeron*, (which is the Chief) having in it the Cities of *Middleborough*, *Flushing*, and *Tervere*; the Island of *Schonen*, hath the City *Zirikzea*; the Island of *South Beverland*, the City *Tergoes*, and the Island of *Tertolen*, the City *Tolen*; which six Towns are all the voting Towns that are in *Zealand*, for the Islands of *North-Beverland*, *Develand*, *Orsond*, and *Woolferdick*, being of little consideration, have no voting Cities in them, so that each City having one Voice, and the Prince of *Orenge*, as representing the Gentry, either in person or by his Deputy, having likewise one; all the Votes of the States Provincial of the Province of *Zealand* are seven, which decide all matters by plurality of Votes, saving in some few things, wherein there must not be a Negative.

This Council assembles of course at *Middleborough* some certain times, and ofter as occasion requires, and hath in their absence (as in *Holland*) a Committee of State of other persons (chosen as themselves are) sitting continually, who summons or calls them together upon extraordinary occasions, their power ceasing whilst the States Provincial are sitting.

These

These Islands lie circled with *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the Sea. *Zealand* was antiently much greater than at present, the Sea having about a hundred and fifty years ago, swallowed up the greatest part of some, and part of most of the Islands; and were not the Walls of these Islands maintained with wonderful industry, charge and ingenuity, the Sea would soon devour a great part of them, especially of *Walkeron* the Chief Island, which lies so much lower than the Sea, that the Inhabitants think themselves bound in prudence to raise many high Artificial Mounts, scattered up and down the Land, on purpose for the people to fly to in case of Inundations.

Utrecht was formerly a Bishoprick, but now one of the seven Provinces; it lyeth incompassed with that part of *Gelderland*, called the *Vetew*, *Holland* and the Southern Sea, having but five Cities in it, that which bears the name of the Province, *Amersford*, *Durstedon*, *Renen*, and *Montford*.

The States Provincial consist of three Orders, (*viz.*) the Ecclesiasticks which are the first (being lay Canons, who buy for their Lives their places, and with them the revenue belonging antiently to the Church) the Gentry the second, and the Cities the third. The first of these Orders send eight, and the two latter each four Deputies, in all sixteen, of which consist the States Provincial of this Province, who assemble at *Utrecht* of course some certain times, and ofter as occasion requires, and in their interval they have as in the other Provinces, a Committee of State of other persons chosen by the same powers as themselves are, sitting continually, who summons them upon

on extraordinary occaſions, their own power ceaſing whilſt the Provincial States ſit, by whom all matters are carried by plurality of Votes, ſaving in ſome particulars, wherein there muſt not be a Negative, majority of Votes having no place.

Friezeland lyeth moſt upon the Sea, bordering by Land upon *Groningen*, *Weſtphalia*, and *Gelderland*, and is the moſt conſiderable Province next *Holland*; the chief Cities of this Province are *Leuvarden* (the Capital Town) *Franeker* (an Univerſity) *Harlingen* (the Seat of their Admirality) *Bolſward*, *Sneeke*, *Worcum*, *Dorcum*, and *Stavern*; there are others of leſs conſequence, and ſome Villages as good as Cities in other places; for as the Yeomandry in this Country are rich, ſo their Houſes for their kind, are the beſt that one meets with ordinarily.

The States Provincial of this Country, are conſtituted of four members or Orders, that is of Deputies ſent from the ſeveral Diviſions of *Weſtergo*, *Oſtergo*, *Silveſtres*, and the Cities; the three Diviſions are again ſub-divided into ſeveral Precincts, where every one having a Houſe with a certain proportion of Land, hath a Voice in their reſpective Precinct, from whence by majority of Voices they ſend two Deputies to the general aſſembly of their Diviſion, and what is reſolved upon by the major part of the ſame, is held the act of that Diviſion, as alſo what is reſolved upon by the major part of the Cities, is concluſive as to them.

The States Provincial of this Province, is conſtituted of Deputies ſent by the four forementioned Members or Orders, each Order having one Vote, who decide all matters by three of the four, except

except what concerns the Soveraignty, in which there muſt not be a negative; this Council meets at *Leurden* ſome certain times of courſe, and ofter as occaſion requires, they having a Committee of Eſtates ſubordinate to them, ſitting continually in their abſence, as the other Provinces have, and choſen by the ſame Orders as themſelves are, who calls them together upon extraordinary occaſions.

Overyſſel is ſo called from lying beyond the River *Iſel*, it hath *Friezeland* and *Groningen* on the North, *Gelderland* and *Zutphen* on the South, *Weſtphalia* on the Eaſt, and the Southern Sea on the Weſt, it is leaſt conſiderable of all the ſeven Provinces, and was formerly belonging to the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, but being weary of the tyranny of Eccleſiaſtical Government they caſt it off, and upon certain conditions put themſelves under the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth.

As this Province is leaſt in conſideration, ſo for its bigneſs it hath the moſt Gentry, having about ſixty Families; which may ſerve to make good the obſervation, that the more idle people any Country hath, the poorer it will be.

The States Provincial of this Province, conſiſts of two Members or Orders (who ſit at *Zwall* or *Deventeur*) that is, the Deputies for the Gentry, and for the three Cities of *Deventeur*, *Campen* and *Zwall*; theſe two Orders are of equal power, neither concluding the other without conſent of all or part of the other Order; for as the Gentry have three Voices, ſo the Cities being three, have each one Voice, which making in all ſix Voices, there muſt be four for concluding any matter in debate, as all the Gentry and one City,

or

or all the Cities and one third part of the Gentry, or two thirds of the Gentry, and as many of the Cities; but in some Cases there must not be a negative, majority having no place; and this Province hath their Committee of State in the interval of their Provincial Estates, in like manner as the other Provinces have.

The Province of *Groningen*, in which is no City save that bearing the name of the Province, is the most Northerly of all the Provinces, lying upon the Sea, betwixt *Friezeland* and *East-Friezeland*. This Province is made up of the City of *Groningen*, and the Land about it, called in Dutch the *Umlanden*, which signifies the Land round the City: This Land is divided into three parts, and those again subdivided into three, which are in all nine. In this Country all persons owners of House and Land to such a certain value, have Voices in their respective Precincts, and what is concluded by the majority of the Precincts, is the resolution of the Country, except in some Cases where majority hath no place. The City of *Groningen* hath a certain number of Senators, whose resolution by majority of Votes is taken in all Cases to be the act of the City. The Deputies for the City, and for the Country, make the States Provincial who sit in the City, and each Order (*viz*) the City and Country being absolute, they must in all acts of Soveraignty agree, or else nothing can pass, there being no plurality where there is but two Orders, and this Province hath also their Committee of State sitting in the interval of the Provincial Estates, as the rest have.

The Republick of the *United Netherlands* is made

made up of these seven Provinces, which I have here taken in order according to their Ranks (those ten of the seventeen Provinces remaining in whole, or in part to the King of *Spain*, being by way of distinction called the *Spanish Netherlands*) and are a Common-wealth only for common defence, each Province being to all other purposes absolute Soveraigns within themselves.

Beside these seven entire Provinces, there are several parts of several other Provinces acquired (most) by Conquest, which are under the Government of the Union by the States General, and are made use of by them for their Frontier Garrisons, to their great advantage, in keeping the Provinces of the Union, the freer from Souldiers, to the incouragement of Trade and Industry.

Now this Republick being thus Constituted, and preservation being consequently the Common Interest of all the Provinces (a Foreign Sword knowing no Friends where it prevails) it is,

First, Their Chief Foreign Interest to be jealous of the greatness and Neighbourhood of *France* (from whence as soon as an opportunity serves, they may well expect a storm) holding a good correspondence with *England*, who as they are able, so lie most conveniently for their assistance, as also with the Northern Kings and Baltick Soveraigns, keeping that Sea from being ingrossed by any one hand, in reference to the great Trade in general that they have thither, and particularly to their Shipping, it being the place from whence they are furnished with their Naval Commodities, maintaining also a good intelligence with the German Princes, as necessary for upholding the great

great Trade they have by Land into their Country, as well as for keeping them from adhering unto the *French* in their ambitious deſigns.

Secondly, It is their intereſt to be ſure of *Spain*, in relation to the profitable Trade they have thither, as likewiſe to their ſafety in the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* (ſo long as thoſe Countries are in the poſſeſſion of that King) not ſuffering them to come into the hands of the *French*, (who cannot approach them ſo near, without danger to them, as well in reference to their concern at Sea as Land) and ſo far as is in their power, to obſtruct the *French* in their growth and increaſe at Sea.

Now as to their Domeſtick Intereſt, firſt it may be calculated from their own obſervations, to be the avoiding of a ſtanding General and Governour, except ſo circumſtanced and limited, as may only give him liberty and power of doing good, without any of doing harm, which is the power that is *Jure Divino*, and due to Governours, the end of Government being for the protection, preſervation, and general good of the Community, and not for the puniſhment and ruine of the innocent with the guilty, as according to common fame in *Italy*, *Philip* the Fourth of *Spain* (to be revenged of the Neapolitans, for the Inſurrection of *Merſinello*) did, in ſending Ships from *Sardinia*, laden with perſons infected with the Plague, on purpoſe to carry that ſickneſs thither, which when their Landing was oppoſed by the Inhabitants, were by the Governour brought on ſhore by force of Arms to the deſtroying (according to *vox populi*) in and about it near three hundred thouſand Souls, contrary to the Precept of

of the Apoſtle, who tells us, that Rulers are not to be a terrour to good but evil doers.

And if the Dutch Writers ſpeak truth (in that Book called *the Intereſt of* Holland) in affirming, that their ſtanding Governours with their former authority and power, inſtead of reconciling differences when any have ariſen betwixt Provinces, Diviſions, Cities, or Magiſtrates (as was part of their Office to do, and one of the benefits they promiſed themſelves in a ſtanding Governour) they have uſually nouriſhed them, as holding it their Intereſt ſo to do, according to that Maxim of *Divide & Impera*, and when they have decided any Controverſies, have made their own private deſigns the rule of their deciſion, even to the prejudice of the innocent party, and that ſince they have had no ſtanding head, they have had fewer differences, and thoſe eaſilier compoſed than before (ſave only that ſingle conteſt about a Stadtholder) as alſo, that they ever obſerved, that when their Generals were in the Field, and furtheſt from home, they had always the leaſt faction and moſt union among them: all theſe circumſtances conſidered, it doth clearly evince, that as Concord or Faction is the Life or Death of a State, ſo the avoiding of a ſtanding General and Governour, inveſted with the former Authority and Power, is their true Common Intereſt.

Secondly, As a Government is better or worſe according as it follows its true Intereſt more or leſs, & that all the Provinces, and every City in them, are more at liberty to purſue their Intereſts while they are their own Maſters, than when they are under the over-ruling and over-awing power of a

ſtanding General, that may have a diſtinct Intereſt of his own contrary to theirs, it is the common Intereſt of the States to keep the power in themſelves, and not to give it to another, eſpecially ſince they have found ſucceſs and proſperity in their own Conduct, and leſs prejudice by Pirates, than when they had a Head, who as their Writers affirm, took no care of clearing the Seas.

Thirdly, As Trade is their grand Intereſt, by which they are only enabled to defend themſelves, and as liberty and freedom are the great increaſers of it, and as an uncircumſcribed ſtanding head, in both Civil and Military Affairs, is under temptation of obſtructing their liberty for publick Intereſt, if contrary to his private, according to the experience they had of their Governour in his not hearkning (as they ſay) unto the Peace at *Munſter*, until gained by a bountiful preſent made him by the *Spaniard*, of the Marquiſat of *Bergen*, *Tournholdt*, *Seavenbergen*, and the County of *Monfort*, beſide a promiſe of a large yearly ſum of money, and as the great damage they ſuffered by their firſt War with *England*, into which they ſay they were hurried by the party of their deceaſed Governour and General, may be a warning to them; ſo all the Provinces are concerned more or leſs, according to the ſeveral proportions they have in Trade, to avoid ſuch an Officer, as may obſtruct the publick Intereſt, if his own private be not in it.

Fourthly, As War is an Enemy to Trade, and as all ſtanding Governours, being alſo Generals, will be for War although prejudicial to the publick, becauſe thereby they render themſelves greater, and more neceſſary than in Peace, as alſo better

better qualified for Uſurpation; and as in their deſigns they are apt to eye their own glory, more than the profit of their Maſters, not regarding at what rate they purchaſe honour to themſelves upon the coſt and charges of others, as appears by the debt of fifteen Millions and three hundred thouſand pounds Engliſh, their Generals run them into, and much of it by oſtentatious and unprofitable undertakings (as their Writers aver.) And as there is no danger of the loſs of liberty, like that from a ſtanding General, who being cloathed with power and authority, is qualified for framing Factions for Uſurpation, ſo it muſt upon the whole be their Common Intereſt, to oppoſe ſuch a ſtanding Head for term of Life, in whom there is ſo much hazard and inconvenience. But although the general Intereſt of all the Provinces thus conſidered, is to oppoſe a ſtanding Governour and General, yet the ſeveral Provinces are in ſeveral degrees more or leſs concerned therein.

Firſt, Becauſe ſuch an Officer by occaſioning Diviſions, and oppoſing his own private Intereſt to that of the publick, is prejudicial to Trade, wherein *Holland* of all the Provinces is moſt concerned, in that by computation they are not able to feed above one eighth part of their multitudes, with proviſions of their own growth, but are indebted to Commerce for ſeven parts of eight of their nouriſhment: and as that Country lyeth the moſt conveniently of all the Provinces for Traffick, to all Corners, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South, having good Havens and Ports, and abounding in Manufactures, ſo the *Hollanders* have cauſe to look upon Trade as their Chief Intereſt, and themſelves more obliged to remove all obſtructions in it, than

thoſe of the other Provinces, which have not the like convenience for it, nor are under the like circumſtances as to their ſubſiſtence.

Secondly, As *Holland* having more Wealth and Treaſure than all the other ſix, is more potent than them all, ſo they cannot hope for leſs than deſtruction under Uſurpation, it becoming neceſſarily the Maxim of Uſurpers, to reduce to poverty ſuch Countries and parties as they have cauſe to fear, and that not only to prevent being capable of practiſing againſt them, but alſo that with their ſubſtance, they may gratify their adherents, gain, and corrupt their needy Enemies: and as all men Armed with power do naturally preſs after Dominion, and that a Civil and Military Head for Life in the *United Netherlands*, can never arrive at an abſolute Hereditary Rule, but by a total ſubverſion and ſuppreſſion of *Holland*, whoſe vaſt loſs in the decay of Trade, which the Change of Government, with the loſs of liberty, muſt neceſſarily bring, will otherwiſe be continual provocations to oppoſition; it is more the concern of *Holland* than any other Province, never to admit of a ſtanding Governour and General, becauſe their utter diſſolution is moſt indangered by ſuch an Officer.

Thirdly, As moſt of the publick charge of the Union lyeth upon the Shoulders of the *Hollanders*, ſo they have moſt reaſon to be Maſters of their own Militia, in disbanding and raiſing of their Armies, both by Sea and Land, as they ſee cauſe, which whilſt they have a ſtanding General and Governour (who will prefer his own ſplendor before publick Intereſt) they cannot exerciſe without the hazarding of a breach, as fell out in the Year

1650.

1650. And as this province of *Holland*, being most concerned in Trade, and so consequently in the benefit and loss by War, is more ingaged to have an eye to both than the other provinces, who are not so deep in Traffick; so it is more their Interest than any of the others, to oppose a standing Head, that may be able by force to bring the best Magistrates to a passive, and the worst by corruption to an active obedience, or at least submission to his will, to the obstructing them in the pursuance of their Interest, as hapned not many Years ago.

Holland hath of late Years been under great contests with the other Provinces, about refusing to Elect a standing Stadtholder, which in their Adversaries might proceed from a mixture of Causes, as from emulation (corrupt nature being apt to envy the prosperity of their Neighbours) and selfishness, in considering that Usurpation carrying necessarily with it the suppression of *Holland*, their fall would be the increasing of Trade to the other Provinces, unavoidably ingaging the Usurper to a general indulgence of them, bestowing upon them the Offices and imployments maintained at the charge of the *Hollanders*, as a reward for supporting him in the enjoyment of his unjustly acquired Dominion: For that a Prince, who having to do with several Countries aims at making himself absolute, must by profuse liberality (conniving at and excusing exorbitancies) make it the Interest of the most indigent and needy, to assist him in the subduing the most opulent and potent Countries; but by what Principles soever the other Provinces were acted to the opposing of *Holland*, in their laying aside of a standing General

neral and Governour, they surely missed their Common Interest in it: though I will not deny, but the private corrupt Interest of some beggerly Courtiers, Souldiers and Families might not be wanting; for as the Government of an Usurper must be Arbitrary and Tyrannical, the ordinary course of Law not being sufficient to serve his turn, so for protecting him in his illegal practices, he must allow his Janizaries to share with him in his oppressing of all the rest, nay even in cousening and cheating of himself, as the only means to quiet them under his doing the like by the people, and therefore it ought, and indeed will be the care of all vertuous and good men, not to forsake the paths of righteousness, for such as the rules of honesty cannot maintain them in; and it hath (in my private thoughts) been many times a wonder to me, how men professing Religion (and whom I will not accuse of insincerity therein) could not only join with *Cromwel*, but also magnify him in his crooked designs. For though good men may have their failings, yet a man stands in need of a great measure of Charity, to think well of those persons that live and die in them without repentance; for uniformity in moral honesty is that which all Christians ought to labour for, the contrary being inconsistent with true Religion; for though a man may be morally honest that is not religious, no man can be truly religious who is not morally honest.

And now as the Interest of all the Provinces is truly one, although in several degrees, so it may be summed up to be (in order to their common safety and preservation) their prime and chief Interest, to be jealous of the designs of *France*, making

making Leagues for preventing them in their further incroachments upon their Neighbours, and especialy upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, ſecuring above all others *England* to them, holding a good correſpondence with *Spain*, *Germany*, the Northern Kings and Princes; keeping the Baltick Sea open, unmonopolized by any one Prince, clearing the Seas of Pirates, maintaining Peace (if poſſible) with all Nations, avoiding a War, and eſpecially at Sea, as that which is deſtructive to Commerce, promoting Trade by all honeſt means, and oppoſing a ſtanding Governour and General, except ſo circumſtanced and circumſcribed, that he can no way endanger their liberty, as that which will otherwiſe deſtroy them: For whenever they ſhall be ſo far depraved, as without ſtrict limitations and bounds, to confer their three Civil and Military chief Commands, upon one and the ſame perſon for Life, their liberty is gone.

For the advantages that attend thoſe dignities, and Charges or Offices in an ability of augmenting Salaries, giving Bribes, beſtowing places of profit upon ſome, and creating new for the ſake of others, with the general influence he will have upon all their Counſels, will leave very few uncorrupted in either City or Camp, or faithful to their Country and not at his Devotion, and if he ſuſpend his Uſurpation until by marriage he hath increaſed his Intereſt and Power, and hath Sons grown up to make uſe of, in the forming and heading of his Party, courting and cajoling Officers and Souldiers, he will then certainly attempt it; for nothing can be more infallible, than that a ſingle Head of great Allies, Intereſt, and Revenue, is inconſiſtent with a Common-wealth, ac-

cording to the Maxime of the Republick of *Genua*, who for that reaſon (in ſome kind like the Oſtraciſm at *Athens*) have ſometimes made their greateſt Citizens uncapable in their Republick of Magiſtracy, wherein they are certainly wiſe, for never any people was in their Liberties Uſurped upon by any of themſelves, but where there was either too much power, or too much money given to buy and corrupt a needy, covetous, and ambitious party; but as the people in theſe Countries are the original of the power of their Magiſtrates, ſo it muſt be left to them, and thus I have done with this ſubject.

A brief

A brief Diſcourſe of the Original Cauſe of the United Netherlands *caſting off the King of* Spain, *and of their preſent Government by Eſtates General, which follows here, as ſerving to make the foregoing Chapter of their Intereſt, the more intelligible.*

THat the *United Netherlands* are part of the ſeventeen Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and what the nature and kind of their ſeveral Provincial Governments are, I have ſhewed in the Chapter going before, which treats of the Intereſts of thoſe Provinces: ſo that in this place it is not needful to add more, than that they are all, each within their reſpective Juriſdictions, abſolute and independent as to all Civil and Criminal Cauſes, making Laws, and doing all other acts and matters of Soveraignty whatſoever, without having any Superiours or Appeals from them, being jointly (like antiently the Grecian Republicks) a Common-wealth to the end only of common ſafety and preſervation, and ſeparately to all other ends, as ſo many individual Soveraignties.

As theſe Countries had in all times reſerved unto themſelves, ſuch large priviledges and immunities, as rendered them always under a great degree of liberty and freedom, ſo when the King of *Spain* by invading their priviledges, neceſſitated them to caſt him off, they had little more to do

do in the change of their particular Governments, than laying him aſide, the Government remaining much the ſame after as before, the Cities in each Province, being now governed much after the ſame ſtanding Councils, and after the ſame order and method as antiently, except that whereas formerly upon the Death of any of their Council, the ſurviving Councellors, by the Election of the major Votes preſented in ſome places a double, and in others a tribble number to the Prince, for him to chuſe a ſingle to ſupply the vacant places, they now have in all the Provinces, where the late Prince of *Orange* was Stadtholder, the Election abſolute in themſelves. And whereas the Soveraign power of every Province, is in their reſpective States Provincial, and the management of matters of State in their abſence, in a Committee of State ſitting continually, upon both which, the Prince of *Orange* had a great influence, though no right of Seſſion in either, the Prince being now laid aſide in *Gelderland*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyſſel*, the five Provinces over which his Anceſtors had four times ſucceſſively been choſen Governours; both Councils in each of theſe Provinces, act now of themſelves without any reference to him.

And for *Friezeland* and *Groningen*, the remaining two of the ſeven *United Provinces*, they chuſe always one of another Houſe of *Naſſa*, for their Stadtholder, ſave that *Frederwike Henry*, a perſon of great parts and deſigns, outed Grave *William* of *Naſſa*, or at leaſt after his Brother *Henry* was ſlain before *Antwerp*, prevented him of the Governourſhip of *Groningen*, as had he lived, he would poſſibly have done the ſame for *Friezeland*,

land, that then having the Stadtholderſhip of all the ſeven, he might at laſt have made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the whole; but Death preventing him in this his more than probable deſign; *Groningen* ſince his Deceaſe, returned to their firſt Family, who deſerves as well from them, ſeveral of them having loſt their Lives in their Service, as the other Houſe of *Naſſa* doth from the reſt.

And now to ſhew further, the great liberty that theſe Countries (who are ever jealous of their priviledges) antiently enjoyed, as well before they were under the Houſe of *Burgundy*, as during that time, I ſhall inſtance in *Gelderland* and *Holland*.

The firſt of theſe Provinces is found to have been divided into four particular Tetrarchies, three whereof (*viz.*) *Nimmegen*, *Arnheim*, and *Zutphen*, were inveſted with ſo much power, that if any Subject complained to the Tetrarchy, to which he belonged, of wrong done him by the Prince, making the truth thereof appear, they were obliged to demand right of the Prince for the party injured, and not receiving ſatisfaction within two months after demand, to ſequeſter all his Domain within their Juriſdiction, and if he ſhould ſtill deny, or delay giving reparation within one Month after that, then they were to make the Caſe known to the other two Tetrarchies, who thereupon were obliged to ſequeſter all the Domain of the Prince within their ſeveral Juriſdictions. And as in theſe times the Government was in three Diviſions with a Prince, the Change is no more, than in laying aſide the Prince, and Governing after the

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ſame method without him, as before with him, ſave that the people enjoy now their priviledges under the preſent Government without diſpute, whereas they were in perpetual conteſt about them under the former.

Holland was originally an independent Province, holding neither of the Emperour, nor any other Foreign Prince, and always governed by States together with a Prince, none but Natives being capable of Election to be Councellors, Treaſurers, or other great Officers, the States having power of themſelves to aſſemble when, where, and as oft as they pleaſed, without leave of their Prince, as alſo they had the ſole power of levying Taxes, but making Peace and War, ordering and diſpoſing of the Mint, was with conſent of the States and the Prince, no ſubject being bound to the obedience of any Command, but as it was founded in Law, the Prince at his Inſtallation, taking an Oath to maintain the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Land, and the people ſubſequently promiſing only to be true and obedient unto him, ſo long as he governed according to Law. Many priviledges more might be inſtanced in, but by theſe the meaſures of their antient Liberties are ſufficiently to be Calculated,

Charles Duke of *Burgundy* (ſurnamed the Warlike) Maſter of theſe Provinces, begun firſt to incroach upon the *Belgick* Liberties, wherein with much ſubtilty he proceeded ſoberly and ſecretly, as knowing that old Foundations were not ſuddenly, but by degrees to be overthrown, his Grandſon (the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth) taking example from him, went on in the ſame way, yet a little more publickly and vigorouſly, but his

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Son and Succeſſor *Philip* the Second King of *Spain* (although a Prince of great parts) being impatient of a ſlow pace, making over-great haſt in the deſign, provoked the Eſtates of theſe Countries to caſt him off, and take the Government to themſelves, which they now carry on without a Prince, as they did before with one.

This *Philip* being acted by ambition, and preſuming upon his great ſtrength, vaſt parts and abilities, deſigned the total ſubverſion of the Belgick Liberties, Government, and the Reformed Religion (which had then taken root, and was of a faſt growth among them) and ſome ſay even of the Nation it ſelf, intending an extirpation of the old, and a replantation with new Inhabitants, making his method the provoking them to ſtand upon their own defence, by the higheſt oppreſſion imaginable, not doubting, but when he had forced them to fly to the natural right of ſelf-preſervation, he ſhould be able with eaſe to ſubdue them, and after he had done that, to caſt (by the authority of his dignity and perſon) the blame upon themſelves, though never ſo innocent, and then plauſibly confiſcate their Eſtates, deſtroy the People, new plant the Country, and rule Arbitrarily according to his own Will and Pleaſure, a method which in part hath been ſometimes uſed by Princes for obtaining of abſolute Dominion, though not always with good ſucceſs, as the revolt of the Cantons of *Switzerland*, as well as theſe Countries do witneſs, beſide that three Kings of *Denmark* loſt ſucceſſively the Kingdom of *Sweden* by it, as did alſo afterwards *Sigiſmondus* of *Poland* the ſame Crown of *Sweden*: And that the King of *Spain* miſcarryed in his ambitious and wicked

wicked undertakings, his greatneſs in Dominions, Allies, and his own parts conſidered, may ſerve to ſhew to all Princes, what a ſmall people made deſperate may do, and will be matter of admiration to poſterity, and of aſcribing it to the ſignal hand of God, in puniſhing the unrighteous deſigns of that Cruel King againſt his own Subjects, and proſpering their neceſſary defence, and the aſſiſtance afforded them therein by good Queen *Elizabeth*, and the ſeveral Kings of *England* and *France*.

The ſeveral ways he uſed to incenſe the people, were firſt in making the Dutcheſs of *Parma* (his natural Siſter) contrary to their priviledges (in that ſhe was an Alien) Governeſs of theſe Countries.

Secondly, In impoſing a new and extraordinary Council upon them, conſiſting of ſeveral Strangers, whereof Cardinal *Grandfield* being one, was made preſident of it.

Thirdly, In placing many other Strangers, in great Offices of truſt and profit.

Fourthly, In ſetting up the Inquiſition, and that with an extraordinary power.

Fifthly, In commanding the obſervation of the Council of *Trent*.

And ſixthly, In increaſing the number of Popiſh Biſhops, from three to ſeventeen, the fourteen added being choſen by the King with only the Popes approbation; that depending upon him, they might be the more complying inſtruments for Tyranny and Perſecution. And when he had made theſe breaches upon their Liberties, conſidering ſuch Innovations to be high intrenchments upon their rights, and therein ſuperlative provocations,

vocations, he then contrary to Law, brought in an Army of Foreigners upon them, to force a ſubmiſſion to his Arbitrary Will, and that not only in Taxes and Impoſitions, but alſo in all other things, by which he put the people out of doubt as to his intentions of reducing them to ſlavery.

His petty Artifices for impoveriſhing the Nobility and Gentry, by provoking them to live above their Eſtates, *&c.* as neceſſary (as he thought) to the introducing of an abſolute Dominion, are not worth mentioning, more than that he therein miſſed his Intereſt, in that it was the only way to diſpoſe them to caſt off that Government, under which they could not comfortably live; for ſurely no Councils are more dangerous to a Prince than ſuch as tend to make a people poor, who have had the experience of riches.

The people being thus provoked, ſought firſt redreſs of their grievances from the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, who of her ſelf was inclinable enough to relieve them, inſomuch that the Count of *Egmont* being with her approbation ſent into *Spain*, to repreſent the Complaints of the provinces, the King diſſembled a willingneſs to redreſs them, returning him with a favourable anſwer, eſpecially in remitting the Edicts about Religion and the Inquiſition, whereby the diſcontents of the people were removed, and the Government carried peaceably on by their Governeſs, with the advice and aſſiſtance of the Nobility of the Country, until the Year 1565. that the Queen of *Spain* (having the Duke of *Alva* with her) met her Brother *Charles* the Ninth of *France*, with his Mother Queen *Katherine* at *Byon*, the next Port in *France* to *Spain*, and as near as *Dover* is to *Calis*, where

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an extirpation of all profeſſing the Reformed Religion in both Kingdoms was agreed upon, with a mutual aſſiſtance of each other in the deſign; and accordingly the King ſent Letters the ſame Year to the Governeſs, diſowning what he had before granted to Count *Egmont*, Commanding without favour or pardon, the putting all Hereticks to Death, the Execution of the Council of *Trent*, and the Emperours Edict about Religion. This multiplyed diſcontents, and the Conſtancy of many Martyrs in their Deaths, having wrought exceedingly upon the people, great multitudes riſe, and in the Year 1566. they hindered the Executions of ſome, breaking Priſons, and ſetting others at Liberty, which was ſoon after ſeconded by a Confederacy of the great ones, never to ſuffer the Inquiſition in the *Netherlands* but to baniſh it as that which occaſioned ſo much Cruelty as exceeded all former Tyrannies.

Theſe ſtirrings being by the Governeſs repreſented to the King, he did at laſt recal his Commands, but by his ſlowneſs in it, his juglings and frequent diſſimulations (which with the wiſeſt of Princes cannot laſt long undiſcovered) having loſt his Credit with the people, this revocation at its arrival found great Inſurrections in many places, to which the Governeſs would have had gentle remedies applied, but was not able to prevail therein with the King, for he (by the advice of deſperate Councellors) being bent upon bloody reſolutions, inſtead of giving any ſatisfaction to their juſt grievances, returned nothing but threats, ſeconding them immediately by ſending the Duke of *Alva* (infamous for Cruelty) with an Army, of which he was made General, and with

with him for Civil matters, one *Vergias*, a witty, bold, needy Fellow, who (having been a Judge in *Spain*, had been there laid aſide for Injuſtice and Corruption) was as odious for Villany, and therein the more fit for Arbitrary and Tyrannical Work.

Now the choice of theſe two Inſtruments, ſhewing the *Netherlanders* what they had to truſt unto, cauſed Confederacies to be entered into by the Chief of the Country (being yet Papiſts) for the defence of their priviledges: but it was not long after, ere the Prince of *Orange* and others, thought it wiſdom to withdraw into *Germany*, as the Counts of *Egmont*, and *Horn*, &c. not doing the ſame, found cauſe in a little time to repent their imprudence, being ſoon after *Alva*'s and *Vergias* Arrival (although the Country was then by their means reduced to Peace) unjuſtly put to Death.

The Emperour offered himſelf as Mediator, but was by the King rejected, his intended work and deſign not being leſs than a total Confiſcation of Eſtates, wherein he went ſo far, that multitudes being made Criminals, another Inſurrection followed, and the Country being prepared by heavy and unuſual Impoſitions and Taxes, at the retired Lords ſecond return out of *Germany* with aſſiſtance, and after the Count of *Marks* ſucceſs upon the *Brill*, &c. the ſuffering party joined readily with them; and although the firſt places that riſe, as *Antwerp*, &c. were in a little time reduced to the obedience of the King, the places remoter from *Bruxels* (the reſidence of the *Spaniſh* Governour) ſo prevail'd, that the Duke of *Alva* was forced in the Year 1573. to return with diſgrace for *Spain*, and his Succeſſor providentially dying not long af-

ter, the Chief of the Provinces entered (before any other was ſetled) into an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, for carrying on the affairs of the Provinces, and in the Year 1576. made an Act for expulſion of all Foreign Souldiers, reſtoring all the antient Forms of Government, referring matters of Religion to the States Provincial of each Province reſpectively, to do therein particularly for themſelves as they ſhould ſee cauſe; which Articles Don *John* (then Governour) with the conſent of the King, did under the name of the Pacification of *Ghent*, ratify and confirm; but the King notwithſtanding this, taking the firſt opportunity of breaking this Pacification, occaſioned thereby that ſolemn Union, called that of *Utrecht* (taken the 29. of *January*, in the Year 1578. Engliſh, and 1579. *Hollands* ſtile (they beginning the Year from the firſt of *January*, as we do from the 25. of *March*) for their common defence and preſervation) which then laid (and ſtill is) the foundation of their Commonwealth.

After this, the Confederates growing bold, went on proſperouſly, and when they had got themſelves into a prevailing poſture of defence, eſtabliſhing a Liberty in Religion, God ſo bleſſed them, that they grew rich, gained upon the *Spaniard*, and after about eighty Years of continual War (ſave twelve of Truce) forced the *Spaniard* in the Year 1648. to own them for a Free State, confeſs the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and make Peace with them upon their own Conditions, leaving every individual Province in the full exerciſe of that Government which they had ſet up, and agreed upon excluſive to the King, and the

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ſeven United Provinces, in a joint execution of their new model for common ſafety and preſervation, under the title of Eſtates General; upon which Government I ſhall here make ſome obſervations, as I have already done upon the ſeveral Soveraignties of each individual Province in the next preceeding Chapter, intitled, *The Intereſt of the* United Netherlands.

The General Government of the ſeven Provinces united in one for common defence, is chiefly carried on and managed by four General Councils (or Colledges, as they call them) (*viz.*) the Eſtates General, the Council of State, the Chamber of Accounts (or Exchequer) and the Colledge for Marine Affairs, all ſitting in the *Hague* in the Province of *Holland*, and conſtituted of Deputies ſent thither by the ſeveral States Provincial of the ſeven Provinces reſpectively, for ſeveral Terms, according to the ſeveral Cuſtoms of every particular Province, each Province having one Voice in the States General.

Firſt, That Council called the States General (compoſed uſually of about thirty perſons) is the ſupream or chief power of the Union, to which each Province ſend as many Deputies as they pleaſe, but whatever the number of their Deputies are, they have all but one Voice, matters being carried by plurality of Provinces, and not of perſons, ſo that the Votes of the Council being ſeven, according to the number of the Provinces, that Province that ſends ſix or ſeven Deputies (as *Holland* ſometimes doth) hath but one Voice as another hath, which perhaps ſends but one or two, and in this Council, neither Stadtholder of thoſe Provinces which had ſuch an Offi-

cer, nor any Military perſon or Officer had right of Seſſion, though when the Prince of *Orange* thought fit to deſire to be heard, he was admitted to offer his advice in perſon to the States General, and ſometimes it was asked of him by their Preſident ſent to him to that purpoſe, but in the Provincial States of the Province of *Holland*, the Prince never appeared perſonally, but was always waited upon by the Pentionary for his advice in their affairs; and although the Prince took an Oath of obedience to the States General, as alſo to the States Provincial of every Province over which he was Governour, yet he was not ſuffered to pay the Souldiers, the paying of them being kept in themſelves, thereby to keep the Souldiers in dependance upon them.

The Members of this Colledge are ſome for three, other for ſix Years, and ſome though but few for life, leſt ſuch continuance ſhould leſſen the authority of their principals; they have the higheſt Juriſdiction over the Militia (the Souldiers ſwearing to them) over all Lands belonging to the Union, with an abſolute power of leavying and disbanding Souldiers, adviſing only with the Governour in it, without acknowledging (as to the thing) any authority in him; but the making Governours of Frontier Garriſons, Captains, Colonels, and Military Officers, was ſo far in the Stadtholder, as to chuſe them out of ſuch as were preſented to him by the States, who in their actings are obliged to keep to the Laws of the Land, and Articles of the Union.

The work of this Council is to ſend and receive Embaſſadors, to hold intelligence with Princes and States, make Peace and War; to agree upon general,

general Taxes for maintenance of the general Union, and protect all the members of it. To order the United General Forces both by Sea and Land in time of War. To govern in chief the Conquered Lands in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the hither parts of *Germany* (not being part of any of the ſeven Provinces) as belonging in common to the Union, with all other matters of general concern, all debates being carried by plurality of Votes, ſave in making Peace, War, and leavying of Taxes, in none of which there muſt be ſo much as one negative, and in this Council each Province preſides their week alternatively, except refuſing to conclude according to plurality of Votes, he reſigns to the Preſident for the enſuing Week; as in ſuch Caſe he is obliged to do.

This Council doth ſometimes make and publiſh Laws in their own names, which concern the Union, but not by any general Commiſſion impowering them therein, but by licence firſt obtained from their principals. For as the ſeveral Deputies of which the States General are conſtituted, cannot give their Votes but according to the inſtructions they receive from their reſpective Superiours (the States Provincial that ſend them) ſo they cannot publiſh any Law binding to the Provinces, without having it firſt ratified and confirm'd by the States Provincial of each Province, the Provinces being as well careful to preſerve their reſpective Soveraignties and legiſlative power within themſelves, as jointly to defend the whole againſt their common Enemy.

The ſecond General Colledge is called the

Council of State, the members of which are ſent by the Provincial States of the reſpective ſeven Provinces, as the States General are, ſave that their numbers are certain, and that they Vote by perſons, and not by Provinces as the States General do; every Deputy preſiding by turns, *Gelderland*, *Zeland*, and *Utrecht*, ſending each two, *Holland* three, *Friezeland*, *Overyſſel* and *Groningen* each one, in all twelve perſons, continuing for two, three, or four Years, according to the Cuſtom of the Province that ſends them, ſave that thoſe ſent from *Zeland*, and the perſon ſent by the Nobility of *Holland*, continue for life, as doth alſo the Treaſurer General.

This Council is for all Land Affairs, in nature of a ſubordinate Council or Committee to the States General, to prepare buſineſs for them; to have inſpection over the Garriſons, Fortifications, Ammunitions, Stores and the Souldiery; to inform the States General of all things neceſſary for publick good, preſenting to them once a Year, an eſtimate of the neceſſary expences for the Year enſuing. Taking care that Peace be kept among all ſorts and degrees, and nothing done to the prejudice of the priviledges of any particular Province, offering their advice upon all to the States General. To put in execution the Laws publiſhed by the States General, and to ſee to the obſervation and keeping of them. To ſee that the Union receive no dammage. To have an inſpection over the Treaſuries, and the diſpoſal of the Finances belonging to the States General, ſeeing that they be rightly imployed, giving every three months to the States General, and to all the States Provincial each an account; in this Council the Treaſurer General

General hath a right of Seſſion, with a deliberative but without a deciſive Vote, and formerly the Prince of *Orange* as Captain General, was Preſident of this Council, and in thoſe times, if during the life of their General his Succeſſor was choſen, he had alſo thereby right of Seſſion with a deciſive Vote, but neither the General, nor his Succeſſor, had ever any right to come into the Council of the States General.

The third Colledge is the Chamber of Accounts, conſiſting of two Deputies, ſent from each Province, changeable every three Years, this Colledge is a check upon the Council of State (who diſpoſeth of the Finances) in controuling their Orders, examining and ſtating the accounts of all the ſeveral Receivers.

The fourth Colledge is of a different conſtitution to the other three, for being for Sea affairs, wherein as the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friezeland* are moſt concerned, ſo they have the greater ſhares in the Election of their Deputies.

The Marine Affairs are managed in ſubordination to the States General, by five diſtinct Admiralties; the firſt at *Rotterdam*, the ſecond at *Amſterdam*, the third at *Horne*, the fourth at *Midleborough*, and the fifth at *Harlingen*; the three firſt being in *Holland*, the fourth in *Zeland*, and the fifth in *Friezeland*. Each Admiralty conſiſts of ſeven Members, four of which are of that Province, and choſen by them where the Admiralty ſits, and the other three, out of the four Provinces which have no Admiralties in them, as *Gelderland*, *Utrecht*, *Overyſſel*, and *Groningen*, and are Elected by the States General out of ſuch per-

ſons as are preſented to them by the Provincial States of the four forementioned Provinces, and in all the Admiralties, the Commander in Chief at Sea preſides, when ever he is preſent in any of them.

Theſe five Admiralties ſend twice a Year their Deputies to the *Hague*, where aſſembling they make the fourth general Colledge, which being only for Naval Affairs, their work is to conſult with the States General, Council of State, and Commander in Chief at Sea about their Marine Force, and maintaining of Trade, each of the Admiralties having their particular Treaſurers, an account of the receit and payment of which is given in every three Months to this Colledge for Sea affairs, reſiding at the *Hague*, and by them to the States General.

The Election of the Sea Captains and Commanders belong to the Admiral General, but the nomination to the Marine Colledge, as doth alſo a final deciſion (without appeal) of all differences between Merchants, Ship-Maſters, and Seamen, under ſixty pounds *Hollands*, which is about thirty ſix pounds Engliſh; and to the end that Navigation be not hindered, they are obliged to a ſpeedy diſpatch of all ſuch diſputes, and are further to take care, that the States General have their due of all prizes taken by Privateers, of which belongeth one fifth to the States, a tenth to the Admiral, and the reſt to the Undertakers, the Seamen and Souldiers of the Ships.

All Captains and Commanders of men of War, both private and publick, give ſecurity before they go to Sea, not to wrong the Subjects of any Nation in Friendſhip with the States. And thus

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the common defence of the *United Provinces*, is managed by the States General, they having under them, the Council of State for Land, the Chamber of Accounts for the Treasury, with the Council deputed by the Admiralties for Sea Affairs, their several works being carried on without envy; for as Faction is that which of all things is most dangerous to a Common-wealth, so to prevent that, as well as out of frugality, they make their imployments so bare, that all cause of envying the enjoyment of them is taken away, an Office of 200^{l} *per annum*, being rare among them, the Sallary of a Member of a Counsellor of State, not being above 150^{l} *ster. per annum*, and of their Secretaries under 100^{l}. Their allowance to their Embassadors being but 1000^{l} *ster. per annum*, in all places save *Constantinople*, where they allow 1200^{l} *per annum* to him at that Court.

It is a Tradition and reputed true, that when that great and wise Spanish General the Duke of *Parma*, observed the frugality of the Dutch, in their way of living, (*viz.*) in their Sallaries, and in all their management of affairs, he said, their parsimony would undo his Master, wherein he proved no less than a true Prophet. And certainly those States and Empires that carry on their Governments by good Husbandry, will always have the Commanding advantage of those that are profuse and lavish.

Though this Government cannot be said to be without Corruption, there being no perfection in this World, nor any thing good, but as compared to worse, yet all the care imaginable is (by their fundamentals) taken to prevent it, as by strict

Oaths

Oaths againſt Bribery, either immediately to thoſe in place themſelves, or mediately to their Wives, Children, Servants, Relations or others, all members of Councils related to any perſon, having buſineſs before them, being to depart during the debate thereof. And all Advocates at Law, at their Admiſſions take three Oaths. Firſt, Not to take greater Fees than are allowed by Law. Secondly, Not to take Fees on both ſides. And Thirdly, Not to entertain any Cauſe, which in their Conſciences they do not judge juſt and right. And the effects of theſe Rules are found, in that none are obſerved to grow rich meerly by Offices, as in other Countries, nor to get more than very ordinary Eſtates, by the Miniſtry, Law, or Phyſick, which tends all to the incouragement of Trade (the great inricher of them) in thereby diſpoſing men the more to it.

And now upon the whole, to ſum up the Governments of the *United Netherlands*, both ſeverally as ſo many diſtinct Soveraignties, with independant Juriſdiction, each within themſelves, and jointly, as a Common-wealth for common defence and preſervation.

Firſt, The particular Government of each Province is much after one and the ſame manner (*viz.*) by States Provincial (or for our better underſtanding, by Parliaments) as the Legiſlative and ſupream power of every Province, with Councils of State of other diſtinct perſons ſubordinate to them, the members of both deriving their powers from the ſeveral Orders of each Province (according as is ſhewed in the foregoing Chapter, called *the Intereſt of the* United Netherlands) who ſend their Deputies for ſeveral Terms,

to

to ſuch places as are appointed by each Province for their Reſidence, the States Provincial meeting of courſe at certain times, and ofter as they are ſummoned upon extraordinary occaſions by the Council of State, who ſit continually, ſaving that their power ceaſeth, during the ſitting of the States Provincial.

Secondly, Theſe Provinces being United as one Common-wealth, for the ends only of common ſafety, are Governed by that Council called the States General, who have chiefly three other Councils or Colledges under them (*viz.*) the Council of State, the Chamber of Accounts, and the Colledge for Naval Affairs, all which as well as the States General, derive their powers and authorities from the ſeveral States Provincial (or Parliaments) of the ſeveral Provinces, who ſend their reſpective Deputies choſen out of themſelves to make each Colledge or Council (and to remain at the *Hague* in *Holland*, the place where the Government of the Union is managed) for certain Terms ſome longer, and ſome ſhorter, according to the ſeveral Cuſtoms of each Province.

The publick Charge of the Union is born by every Province according to the proportions here undermentioned (*viz.*) *of* 100*l.*

	l.	s.	d.
Elderland payeth	05	12	03.
Holland	58	06	02 ¼.
Zealand	09	03	08.
Utrecht	05	16	07 ½.
Friezeland	11	13	02 ¾.
Overyſſell	03	11	05.
Groningen	05	16	07 ½.
	100	00	00.

And *Amſterdam* alone, from the benefit of Trade, pays near 25. *per Cent.* of all the Charge of the Province of *Holland*, as that Province pays according to its *quota*, near three fifths, and by ſupplying what the other Provinces fall ſhort of their proportions, near four fifths of the whole Charge of the Union.

THE

THE INTEREST OF GERMANY, OR OF THE EMPIRE AND EMPEROUR.

Germany being incompaſſed with *France*, the *Netherlands*, *North Sea*, *Denmark*, the *Baltick Sea*, *Pruſia*, *Poland*, *Hungaria*, *Switzerland*, and the *Alpes* (which parts it from *Italy*) is a mighty Country, in a manner round, containing many Provinces, and within them many Soveraignties and Principalities, ſome under Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical Princes, others under Republick Cities, Soveraign Earls, Lords and Gentlemen, all making a kind of an undigeſted Common-wealth, united under the Emperour as their Head, the Choice of whom is in eight Electors; five for the Temporalty, and three for the Church.

Thoſe

Thoſe of the firſt Order are the King of *Bohemia*, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, with the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and the Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*; For the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of Peace at *Munſter*, in the Year 1648. finding the laſt excluded the Electoral Colledge, under pretence of his Father the King of *Bohemia*'s having riſen up in defence of the German Liberties, and the Proteſtant Religion, and the Duke of *Bavaria* advanced to his place (which the Emperour *Ferdinand* the II. had procured the corrupt Dyet, or Parliament in 1628. illegally to Enact, contrary to the Proteſtations of the Electors of *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh* and *Mentz*, and Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Empire, by which the Children of the Electors, and other Princes, are not for the offences of their Fathers to forfeit their Inheritance) they had no other expedient for his reſtauration than by increaſing the number of the Temporal Electors, to bring him in as an additional Elector: and although he was antiently the firſt of the three ſecular Electors, they could not obtain more for him, than the place due to a new Creation, which is the laſt.

Thoſe of the ſecond Order are the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Tryers*, and *Colen*. The King of *Bohemia* (until the Peace at *Munſter*, that there were but ſix Electors beſide himſelf) was Umpire in Caſe of even Votes, but by the addition of one, their number (with the King) is made eight, and without any proviſion (that I can hear of) for deciſion in Caſe of even Votes.

The ſecular Princes of this Country are many, but the Chief are the four Electors and their Families,

milies, the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* (for what they hold in this Country) the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Brunſwick* and *Lunebourgh*, *Saxon Lawenbourg*, *Mechelenbourgh*, *Wirtembourgh*, and *Holſtein*, the Landgraves of *Heſſen*, the Marqueſſes of *Baden Durlach*, and *Baden Buden*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, and the younger Families of each of theſe Houſes, with ſome lately made by the Emperour from Earls to Princes of the Empire, as the Prince of *Orange*, the Grave of *Naſſa* (Stadtholder of *Friezeland*) the Graves of *Eaſt Friezeland*, *Salms*, and *Mauritz* of *Naſſa*; but though the Grave of *Naſſa Dillenbourgh* is the Chief of the *Naſſa* Family, he refuſed or at leaſt would not ſeek to change his Title for that of Prince.

The Eccleſiaſtical Princes are the three Church Electors, the Biſhops and Abbots reputed Princes of the Empire, there being ſtill the Archbiſhop of *Saltsbourg*, and about twenty other Biſhopricks remaining unalienated, and not erected into ſecular Principalities as the reſt are.

The Republick Cities are near if not full ſeventy in number, whereof three or four are Papiſts, as many half Papiſts half Lutherans, one Calviniſt (which is *Bremen*) and all the reſt of the *Auguſtbourgh* Confeſſion, the Chief of which are *Neurenbourgh*, *Strasbourgh*, *Ulme*, *Frankford* upon the *Main*, *Hambourgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, *Collen*, and *Auguſtbourgh*, which laſt is one of thoſe that are part Papiſts, but the better half Lutherans, *&c.*

The Earls and Graves are ſo many as cannot well be collected, but ſome of the principal are *Oldenburgh* (now fallen to the King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Holſtein Goddorp*, and *Holſtein Plaen*, as joint Heirs) *Hanaw*, *Swartzbourgh*, *Mansfeild*, *Hogenſtein*, *Naſſa*, &c. The

The antient considerable Barons are not many, but of such as bear the title there are not a few; but Barons, Earls, Princes, Marquesses, or Dukes, Created by the Emperour, have no Session in the Dyet, without obtaining of them their allowance, and being first matriculated in the Imperial Roll, kept by the Elector of *Mentz* for that purpose, so that the number of those that bear several Titles (conferred by the Emperour as meerly titular) and never come into the Dyet, are many.

The Gentry are according to the Custom of their Country, some Soveraigns (as they call them) and others not, as the most of them in *High Germany* are absolute within their own Jurisdictions, some of them owing only a bare homage to the Emperour for what they hold immediately of him, as others do the same to the Prince within whose Territories they lie; but the Princes of the lowet parts of *Germany*, together with *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Hessen*, governing by Estates, not having power to leavy Taxes but with their consents, there the Gentry are not absolute, but subject to the Laws of their several Countries in common with others, and are only looked upon as the principal Estate next the Prince of the Country, whereby those Princes are the more considerable.

And now for the better describing the greatness of the Empire, I shall make some observations upon each Principal Princes Family, beginning with the House of *Austria*, of which, though the Emperour is as to dignity the first, yet the King of *Spain* is otherwise the Chief. And withal you may take notice, that at present it hath no Heirs Males left, save the present Emperour and the young King

King of *Spain*, so that the extinction of all the younger branches of this Family, which formerly enjoyed large Territories in the Empire, renders the Emperour the greater Prince in the sole possession of all the Lands belonging to his particular Family, which is at least the fourth part of *Hungaria* (got by Conquest) the Turk having the rest. The Kingdom of *Bohemia* (claimed by the Sword, and confirmed to him by the Peace at *Munster*, of both which Countries he now writes himself Hereditary King.) the Archdutchy of *Austria*, the entire Dutchies of *Stiria*, *Croatia*, and *Corinthia*, the *Marquisate* of *Moravia*, the County of *Tyrell*, and the supreme Soveraignty of the Dutchy of *Silesia*: for though there are several Dukes in it, with a kind of Soveraign power, they are nevertheless subordinate to the Emperour as Lord *Paramount*, and these are contiguous, beside many other Lands, small Counties and Baronies scattered in several parts of the Empire, so that all his Territories considered, he were a mighty Hereditary Potentate, did he not give himself too much up to the Steerage of the Ecclesiasticks, who seldom if ever prove good Pilots in Civil Affairs.

The Elector *Palatine* hath only the *Lower Palatinate* left him, the *Upper* being given from him by the Treaty at *Munster* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was then in possession of it, as was also that part of his former possessions, called the *Bergestraut*, given to the Elector of *Mentz*, upon pretence of a forfeiture of an old Mortgage. This Prince though, (his Revenue being thus paired) he comes far short of what the other Electors have, yet by his wise Conduct, holds as

Princely a State as any of the rest of his Order.

Of this Family there are five branches younger Houses, (*viz.*) the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Newburgh*, *Zwaibrugg* (of which last House the Grandfather of the present King of *Sweden* was a Younger Brother, and himself now next Heir) the *Paltzgrave* of *Sultzback*, and the Prince of *Zimerin*, Cousin German to the present Elector *Palatine* by his Fathers Younger Brother.

The Prince Palatine of *Zimerin* is lately dead

The Elector of *Bavaria* hath *Upper* and *Lower Bavaria*, the *Upper Palatinate*, and many other scattered Lands in other parts of *Germany*, which taken all together are so great, that did he inherit his Fathers Abilities, as he doth his Territories, he might for Potency be reckoned equal to any of the *German* Princes, save the Emperour, but falling very short in that, he is the less considerable; the Younger Houses of this Family are the same with the Elector *Palatines*, who is his Chief.

This Elector of *Bavaria* is lately dead

The Father of the present Elector of *Saxony*, was a considerable Prince, in being the sole Master of *Saxony Meissen*, the *Upper* and *Lower Lusatia*, with other large Territories, and a person of able parts, but this Elector having three Brothers, who share with him in his Fathers Inheritance, and himself coming very far short of his Abilities, is not by much so great as his Father was.

This Elector of *Saxony* is lately dead

There are several Younger Families of this House, as the Duke of *Saxon-weimer* (whose Ancestor was degraded by the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth

Fifth from the Electoral Dignity, for adhering to *Luther* and that party, the preſent Electors Anceſtor being Inſtalled in his place) the Dukes of *Saxon Altenbourg*, *Saxon Gota*, and the preſent Electors three Brothers, each of which make a Family.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* is the mightieſt Prince in Territories of all the Electors (and the greater Potentate, in being the wiſeſt and greateſt Souldier of any Soveraign Prince of this Age) having beſides the old and new Marquiſates of *Brandenburg*, the half part of *Pruſia*, (where he is an independant Soveraign Prince) the *Lower Pomerania*, the ſeveral Biſhopricks of *Halberſtat*, *Minden*, *Cammin*, and *Magdeburg* (after the deceaſe of the preſent Adminiſtrator) the Dutchy of *Cleve*, and Counties of *Marke*, and *Ravensbourg*, with ſeveral other Lands. Theſe Biſhopricks were erected into Secular Principalities, and given him by the Treaty at *Munſter*, in conſideration of his loſſes in the late Wars, and in exchange for the *Upper* and part of the *Lower Pomerania*, which were taken from him to give to the *Swedes*, they being in poſſeſſion of them at the time of the Treaty for the General Peace; there are of younger Houſes of this Family, the ſeveral Marqueſſes of *Barbeit*, *Culembach* and *Anſpacke*, and thoſe deſcended from them.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who is the King of *Spain*, and hath only the *Franche Comté*, or County of *Burgundy*, left in *Germany*, is without any younger Houſes of it, more than the Emperour, who though greater in dignity, is a younger Houſe of *Spain*.

Burgundy now given to the *French* King.

The Houſe of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* hath

several Branches, all writing Dukes of both Countries, for that in *Germany* all the Titles of the Father are derived to every Son, who are distinguished usually by the places of their chief Residence, and so there are at present four several Dukes Families of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, the Chief having his Residence at *Woolfenbotle*, the second at *Zell*, the third at *Hanover*, and the fourth at *Osnabourgh*; but though the Title of *Brunswick* belongs to the three last, who write themselves Dukes thereof, because descended from thence, yet they are in *Germany* vulgarly called Dukes of *Lunenburg* (with addition for distinction sake of the place where they live) the whole Land of *Lunenburg* belonging (upon the matter) to them, and but a small part of the Land of *Brunswick*, the most part of that Dutchy being under the Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg Woolfenbotle*, who though (as I presume) the Chief of the Family, because in common discourse (without other distinction) he is called Duke of *Brunswick* (which is the Chief Dutchy) yet in the Wars of *Gustavus Adolphus*, was not by much so considerable as the Father of the three present Dukes of *Lunenburg*, nor is he of *Woolfenbotle*, as I believe, so great at this time, as either he of *Zell* or *Hanover* is at present, having, or at least lately had, several younger Brothers who share with him.

The House of *Silesia* hath several Dukes Families of it (as is before mentioned) but the Emperour hath the supream power with the greatest part of the Dutchy, and is Heir to some of the Princes if their Male lines fail; but this Dutchy hath in several Ages belonged to several Crowns, as antiently it was reckoned a member of *Poland*, and

and though it lie in *Germany*, and ſpeaks that Language, it is now reckoned a member of *Bohemia*.

The Houſe of *Mechlenbourgh* hath two diſtinct Families, but deſcended from one common Anceſtor (*viz.*) one called Duke of *Swerine*, and the other Duke of *Caſtro*, who have betwixt them the whole Dutchy of *Mechlenberg*, ſave the City of *Wiſmar* (the chief Town of the Country, and beſt Haven upon the *Baltick*) with the Land about it, which the Crown of *Sweden* had given to them (being in poſſeſſion of it) by the Treaty at *Munſter*, when by the Peace made at that time, the reſt of the Land was reſtored to the two Princes of the Country, with ſeveral Church Lands given them in lieu of what they parted with to the *Swede*.

The Houſe of *Heſſen* hath two conſiderable Families of it, diſtinguiſhed by the ſeveral Titles of *Landgraves* of *Heſſen Caſſel*, and *Heſſen Darmſtat*, the latter being a younger Houſe of *Caſſel*, and each of theſe Houſes have, or at leaſt lately had younger Brothers, but of little conſideration, one of each Houſe being lately turned Papiſt, of which he, called Cardinal of *Heſſen*, is one.

Of the Houſe of *Wirtemberg*, there were not long ſince (if there are not ſtill) ſeveral younger Brothers, all bearing the Titles of Dukes of *Wirtemberg*, but the Chief is he of *Stucgard*, a very conſiderable Prince, this Dutchy being equal (if not ſuperiour) for fertility to any Country in *Germany*, hath a younger Branch, which from its reſidence at *Mompelgard*, bears in common diſcourſe the Title of Duke of that Town, but in writing is ſtiled Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

The Dutchy of *Holſtein* contains *Holſtein* (properly ſo called) *Ditchmarſh* and *Iderſey*. *Holſtein* ſingly taken (which is a Province of the Empire) is equally divided betwixt the King of *Denmark*, and that Prince called the Duke of *Holſtein Goddorpe*, each ruling diſtinctly within their ſeveral Juriſdictions, and yet the ſupream aſſembly for the whole is held alternatively one Year in the Kings name, and another in the Dukes name; but of *Ditchmarſh*, and *Iderſey*, the Duke hath much the greater ſhare, if not three parts of four. And beſide theſe Countries, the Duke hath the entire Dutchy of *Sleiſwick*, which joins upon *Holſtein*, where he hath his reſidence at his Caſtle called *Goddorpe*, which Dutchy, together with *Ditchmarſh*, did depend upon the Crown of *Denmark*, until the *Swede* by their late Treaty of Peace with that Crown, made the Duke (whoſe Siſter is Queen Regent of *Sweden*) as to thoſe two Countries an Independant Prince.

There are of this Houſe two younger Families, one called Duke of *Holſtein Plain*, the other the Duke of *Holſtein Sunderbourgh*, but the laſt by their numerous younger Brothers, are all brought ſo low, and ſo diſperſed in the World for their ſubſiſtance, that they deſerve the taking no more notice of than naming, ſave only, that that excellent Princeſs the preſent Electreſs of *Brandenburg* is a Daughter of that Houſe, having been the former Duke of *Zells* Widdow, and now the Electors ſecond Lady; who Married her upon condition of turning *Calviniſt*, being before a *Lutheran*, according to her Family (a good example for Reformed Princes.)

The Marqueſſes of *Baden* are two ſeveral Families

lies, and ſome ſay of two diſtinct originals, others of one and the ſame, and that they have agreed upon entailing their Lands upon each other, in Caſe of failure of Heirs Males. The moſt conſiderable is he called the Marqueſs of *Baden Durlach*, a *Lutheran*, the other a *Papiſt*, who bears the name of Marqueſs of *Baden Baden*, and is of much leſs conſideration than the firſt; but being a Romaniſt in Religion, is now (or was very lately) by the Emperours Election, the Chief Judge of the Imperial Court of *Spyers*; there were of both theſe Families not long ſince, ſeveral younger Brothers, but being then Unmarried, they did little prejudice to their Chiefs.

The Houſe of *Anhalt* is reckoned by ſome to be the antienteſt Family in *Germany*, having been formerly Electors, and to make way for the Family of *Brandenburg*, was degraded from that Dignity, without any other material reaſon. Their Country is but ſmall, and lyeth incompaſſed with *Lutheran* Countries, as *Brunſwick*, and *Saxony*, &c. but the people as well as their Princes, are of *Calvins* perſwaſion. This Family bears only the name of Prince, (though as before-mentioned was formerly ſo great) which here in *Germany* is in degree under Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Landgraves. There are five ſeveral Families of this Houſe, much of equal power and revenue, living all in the Country of *Anhalt*, making by conſent a kind of Common-wealth among themſelves, the eldeſt in Years being ordinarily reckoned the Director of all the Families, he calling them together upon all occaſions of Conſultation for the good of the whole; they are generally perſons of great Vertue, Worth and Gallantry, but of no great Eſtates.

The Dukes of *Saxon Lawenburg*, are also very antient, and of the same original with the Princes of *Anhalt*, and have likewise been Electors, and without any great reason deprived of that dignity (to make way for *Saxony*) There were in my Memory, several Brothers gallant persons of this Family, which are now reduced to two, and they without Heirs Male, and if they die so, the Princes of *Anhalt* succeed in their Inheritance as Heirs to them, which will be a convenient addition, their Countries bordering upon one another.

These are the Chief of the Princes of *Germany*, and if any be omitted (as probably there may be some made lately by the Emperour from Counts to Princes) they are such, as are but of little consideration. The rest of the Lands in *Germany* not belonging to secular Princes, are injoyed by the Popish Church, free Imperial Towns, Soveraign Lords, Earls, and Gentlemen, of all which there are too many to enumerate.

Germany being thus possessed, is divided into ten Circles, called the *Austrian*, *Burgundian*, *Nether-rhinish*, *Bavarian*, *Saxon*, *Franconian*, *Swaben*, *Upper-rhinish*, *Westphalian*, and *Nether Saxon* Circles.

1. The *Austrian* Circle contains some Principalities, Earldoms, Bishopricks, and several Convents, with the Lands belonging to them, beside the Territories appertaining to the *Austrian* Family, which being very large make this the greatest of the ten, and gives the Chief of the House of *Austria* the right of assembling the Circle and presiding in it, they holding themselves too great to have a Colleague in the Command of this Circle,

cle, as moſt of the other Circles have.

2. The *Burgundian* Circle contains *Burgundy*, or *Franche Comté*, with ſeveral other ſmall Counties: *Charles* the Fifth added the ſeventeen *Netherland* Provinces to this Circle, but now there cannot be any reckoning made of them, and the King of *Spain*, to whom the County of *Burgundy* belongs, hath the right alone of aſſembling this Circle.

This County of *Burgundy* is now granted to the *French* King.

3. The *Nether Rhiniſh* Circle, contains the Territories of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, the three Church Electors, beſide other Church Lands, with ſeveral Earldoms; and the right of aſſembling this Circle and preſiding in it, belongs to the ſeveral Electors *Palatine*, and *Mentz* jointly.

4. The *Bavarian* Circle contains the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, ſome Principalities, ſeveral Earldoms and Baronies, the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzburg*, ſome other Biſhopricks, with ſeveral other Church Lands. The right of ſummoning this Circle, and preſiding in it, belongeth to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*.

5. The *Upper Saxon* Circle, contains ſeveral Biſhopricks, with the Lands belonging to ſeveral Church Orders, the ſeveral Countries of the ſeveral Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, with other Principalities, ſeveral Earldoms and Baronies, the Elector of *Saxony* having the right alone of calling the aſſembly of this Circle, and preſiding in it.

6. The *Franconian* Circle contains three Biſhopricks, ſeveral Convents, Church Juriſdictions, and the Teutonick Order, with the Lands belonging

ing to them, several Earldoms and Imperial Cities, with their Territories, whereof the great City of *Neurenburg* is one, the Bishop of *Bamburg* having the right of calling this Assembly and presiding in it, when the matters are Ecclesiastical, and when Political, the Marquess of *Brandenburg Culembach*,

7. The *Swaben* Circle is a Territory belonging to several Lords, to three Bishops, and many Convents, beside that it contains the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, the Marquisat of *Upper Baden*, sixteen Earldoms, and many Imperial free Cities; the right of calling this Circle, and presiding in it, belongeth to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and Bishop of *Constance*.

8. The *Upper Rhinish* Circle contains several Dukedoms and Principalities, eighteen Earldoms, many Imperial free Cities, several Bishopricks and Convents; the calling of this assembly and presiding in it, belongeth to the Bishop of *Wormes*, and the Prince *Palatine* of *Zimerine*.

9. The *Westphalia* Circle contains four Dukedoms, two Principalities, two and twenty Baronies and Earldoms, thirteen Imperial free Cities, some Bishopricks and Convents, and the calling together of this Circle belongeth to the Bishop of *Munster*, and the Duke of *Gulick*.

10. The *Nether Saxon* Circle contains the several Dutchies of *Brunswick*, *Lunenburg*, *Mechelburg*, *Saxon Lawemburg*, *Holstein*, several Earldoms, the several Bishopricks of *Bremen*, *Verden*, and *Magdeburg* (all now alienated and erected into seculiar Principalities) four Bishopricks, and six Imperial free Cities. The calling together of this Circle, and presiding in it, did belong to the

Archbishop

Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, and the Duke of *Lawemburg*, but now the Elector of *Brandenburg*, upon the account of being Master of *Magdeburg*, and the King of *Sweden* being the same of the Bishoprick of *Bremen*, they two take their turns in this Circle.

Germany thus divided into ten parts is united in a Dyet or Assembly of three Estates. The first being that of the Electoral Colledge. The second that of the Princes, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, with Abbots, Counts and Barons, all making but one Estate. The third that of the free Imperial Cities. In the vacancy of an Emperour the Empire is governed by the Elector *Palatine*, as Vicar for the upper part of *Germany*, and of the Country lying upon the River *Rhine*, with *Swaben* and *Franconia*, &c. as all lying upon the River *Elb*, &c. is governed by the Elector of *Saxony*, as Vicar for all those parts, the Elector of *Mentz* being obliged to summon all the Electors to meet at *Franckford* upon the *Main*, within three Months after the Death of the Emperour, for the Election of his Successor.

The Dyet (which is as our Parliament) is called together by the Emperour after he hath first obtained the consent of the Electors, which he is obliged to ask as essential to the being of it, and to call it as often as the Electors shall judge needful, and intimate the same to him. It's the Legislative Power considers of all matters of publick concern, and as need requires grants aids (though very rarely) against the Turk, or a common Invader, and not otherwise, and then only according to the known standing proportions of each Elector, Prince, Free City, Earl, Baron, and all that

that are taxable, ſome Cities, as *Neurenburg* (which hath as I was told upon the place, eleven Cities (whereof one is an Univerſity) and a thouſand Villages belonging to it) paying more than ſome Electors, the Emperour having no ſtanding Revenue from the Empire as Emperour.

To this Dyet thus conſtituted of three Eſtates, lyeth an appeal in extraordinary Caſes from the Imperial Court of *Spyers*, but ſeldom happens, the Judges of the Court being kept in awe by being upon any occaſion ſummoned to the Dyet, to give an account of the Decrees made by them ſome time before. For there lyeth an Appeal to this Judicatory at *Spyers*, from all the Soveraignties in *Germany*, in all Civil Cauſes, above certain known ſums, which are in ſome places more, and in ſome places leſs, according to the Cuſtoms of ſeveral places, ſave that the Electors and ſome other Princes, are by ſpecial priviledge abſolute in their Judicatures, without Appeal from them to the Chamber at *Spyers*.

And beſides this priviledge, the Electors have others very great, as a power of depoſing the Emperour as well as of electing of him when they ſhall judge him guilty of Mal-adminiſtration, but eſpecially the power of the Elector *Palatine* ſeems to exceed all the reſt, in that (as the *German* Writers affirm) he hath the right (upon complaint, and at the ſuit of others) authoritatively to convene the Emperour for Debt, with other priviledges tending to the limiting and bounding of the Emperour, who alſo ought not to make Peace or War without conſent of the Dyet.

The Court of *Spyers* is conſtituted of Deputies ſent by the Emperour, the Electors, and the ten Circles,

Circles, to the number of about thirty or forty perſons, the Emperour as ſuch, having the Prerogative to chuſe the chief Judge, and ſend four Deputies.

The *Germans* are as to Religion of different perſwaſions, as *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, and *Papiſts*. The *Lutheran* Princes and Countries are the Elector of *Saxony*, and all the ſeveral Branches of that Houſe, with their ſeveral Countries. The Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, and all their Branches and Countries (ſave that he of *Hanover* is lately turned Papiſt, but without Children) the ſeveral Dukes of *Wirtemberg*, *Holſtein*, *Saxon Lawenburg*, *Mechlenburg*, the ſeveral Marqueſſes of *Brandenburg*, *Culembach*, *Anſpache*, and *Barreit*, the Marqueſſes of *Baden Durlach*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſen Darmſtat* (of which laſt Houſe there is one lately turned Papiſt, as there is alſo one of *Mechlenburg*, but their Countries do all continue *Lutherans*) with the Prince of *Anhalt Serbſt*, many Earls and Barons, and near, if not full, ſixty free Imperial Cities, beſide the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and all their Dominions which they hold in the Empire.

The Reformed Princes (called for diſtinction ſake *Calviniſts*) with their Territories, are the Elector *Palatine*, the Elector of *Brandenburg* himſelf (but his Dominions moſt *Lutherans*) the Duke of *Swabrug*, the Landgrave of *Heſſen Caſſel*, one of the Dukes of *Mechlenburg* (the other as is beforeſaid without Children, turned lately Papiſt) the Duke of *Zimerin*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, excepting him of *Serbſt*, who is a *Lutheran*, with many Earls and Barons in *Weſtphalia*, &c. and the City of *Bremen*,

The Prince of *Zimerin* lately dead.

men, the only *Calvinist* free City in all the Empire.

The Popish Princes are the Emperour, the Elector of *Bavaria*, the three Ecclesiastical Electors, the Duke of *Newburg*, the Marques of *Baden Baden*, one Duke of *Luneburg*, and another of *Mechlenburg*, two younger Brothers of the two several Houses of *Hessen*; but all the several Countries, of the four last are *Lutherans* (the Princes in this Country, having no great influence upon their Subjects in point of Religion) with Bishops, Abbots, and Convents, and their several Countries, as also some Earls and Barons, and three or four Imperial free Cities.

The *Lutheran* and *Calvinist* Countries are in the general entirely of the one or other Religion, but beside *Bavaria*, few of the Popish Countries are so, for even the Emperours Hereditary Lands had many both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* in them, and have so still, if the late persecution hath not lessened them, and in several Countries belonging to Popish Bishops and Abbots, many *Lutherans*, and some *Calvinists*, have not only a right, but do also actually enjoy the publick exercise of their several Religions, without disturbance, and much more without Persecution.

The several Provinces of *Franconia*, *Alsatia*, *Swaben*, and *Westphalia*, are Countries without any particular Princes, denominatively bearing the Titles of them, as other Countries of *Germany* have (but the Duke of *Saxon Lawenburg*, writes Duke of *Westphalia* and *Hungaria*, but both meerly Titular, and not heard of save in publick writings to make a noise) the Proprietors being a mixture of several Princes, Earls, free Cities, and Romish Ecclesiasticks, which causeth in each of

of them the like variety in Religion, the three firſt being *Lutherans* and *Papiſts*, and the laſt *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans* and *Papiſts*.

The Kingdom of *Bohemia* (though lying in *Germany*, and in a manner incompaſſed with it) I paſs by, becauſe a diſtinct Kingdom, ſpeaking a diſtinct Language, not eſteemed part of *Germany*, nor compriſed within the Diviſions of it, and without Seſſion in the Dyet, or being taxed by it, as *Sileſia* is alſo in the ſame condition, ſave that High Dutch is their Language.

And now after this brief account of *Germany*, it may well upon the whole be obſerved, that were it under a good method of Government, with a perfect general Union for common ſafety and preſervation, it would not only according to the eye of reaſon, be (ſpeaking after the manner of men) invincible, but alſo able above other Nations to become the Arbitrator among its Neighbours. For the ſituation of the Country, and the accommodations of it, in plenty of men, of ſtout Spirits, and ſtrong Bodies, moſt fit and apt for War, abounding in Proviſions and all ſorts of Ammunition for Land Service, ſeem to render ſuch a deſign its proper buſineſs; but as it is conſtituted of ſo many Soveraignties, and of ſeveral kinds, with ſuch variety of Religions, the dividing of it (which can only be its Death) and ſo prevent it in keeping the ballance of Chriſtendom (which may be reckoned its natural Province) is the eaſilier to be wrought; and conſidering the former vaſt greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Conjunction of Popiſh Counſels and Forces, for bringing it under the Arbitrary Dominion of the Emperour, it is matter of great admiration

it

it was not effected. And ſince the *Germans* are at this time delivered from all danger thence, it ought to be their wiſedom to ſecure themſelves againſt the like for the future, their true Intereſt being beſt diſcovered by remembring the hazard it hath (in our time) run of being reduced unto Slavery and Popery, and how it was miraculouſly delivered from the bondage of both.

The danger of *Germany* hath formerly at any time been in, hath been either from their Emperours dividing of them with deſign of Uſurpation, or from the invaſion of the Turk, no other Neighbour ſo long as they remain united, being in any kind their match.

When the Houſe of *Auſtria* contended for the Univerſal Monarchy, knowing it would be of great diſadvantage to own the deſign, they thought it moſt politick to colour it with a pretence of Religion, as that which would not only ingage the whole Romiſh party for them (Religion having a great influence upon the ſpirits of men) but alſo divide *Germany*, without which they could not hope to prevail againſt ſo mighty a Country, nor without ſubduing it to proceed in their work, and therefore upon that conſideration, they gave their faction or party the name of the Catholick League, but the contrary party anſwering them in the naming theirs the Evangelical League (names being in ſome Caſes of great efficacy as *Cromwel* found in naming his oppoſers Levellers) by the aſſiſtance of *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, the latter brought the firſt ſo low, that they then fled to the Artifice of corrupting the Princes of *Germany*, by tempting promiſes of advantage in caſe they would deſert the

the *Swede*, ſuggeſting jealouſies of them, by which means the *Swedes* (who came into *Germany* for relief of the oppreſſed Princes and States) after their King *Guſtavus* was ſlain, were left deſtitute of any aſſiſtance, more than from that famous and eminently conſtant Houſe of *Heſſen Caſſel*, (who are Calviniſts) all the reſt of the conſiderable ruling Princes, either turning Neuters, or declaring againſt them; and had not the *French* better underſtood their Intereſt, in ſtepping ſeaſonably in to the aſſiſtance of the *Swede* and the *Landgrave*, than the reſt of the Princes did in deſerting of them, and making their Peace with the Emperour, *Germany* had loſt its liberty, and fallen under the abſolute Dominion of the *Auſtrian* Family, whereas by their aſſiſtance freedom was preſerved, and an honourable peace obtained.

Now, although *Germany* was thus by an overruling hand of providence kept from ruine, yet the uncertainty of the Princes at that time when ſubverſion ſo much threatned them, and the unſteadineſs of them to their own Intereſts, in being drawn from it by plauſible promiſes, which could have nothing leſs at the bottom, than at laſt their own deſtruction, ſhew the danger that the Empire was, and ever will be in, from the variety of petty Soveraigns, who will be always ſubject to temptations. For though the *German* Princes, being firmly united in one common cauſe for common ſafety and preſervation, cannot be in danger from any Nation, yet by dividing of them, they may eaſily be ſacrificed to the will and luſts of Neighbour Potentates, leſs formidable than themſelves.

The Turk hath formerly made ſeveral attempts

upon the Empire, but could never advance further than *Vienna* (the Emperours Residence, and little more than the entrance into *Germany*) and from thence he was then forced to retreat with a loss he did not in some time after recover; and indeed the great distance considered betwixt *Germany* and *Constantinople*, from whence the Turk must have the main of his supplies and recruits, so long as *Germany* remains true to their Interest in being unanimous, the fear of him is in no degree equal to that of continuing the Imperial Crown too long in one and the same Family: for as the covetous and ambitious nature of man is never contented, but always undervaluing what it hath, and pressing after more; so the great advantages that follow the Crown, from the power it hath of conferring honours, places, giving rewards, and promising more upon success, is sufficient for a Prince, that hath an old root of succession in great Hereditary Dominions of his own, to frame at any time a party for Usurpation, where he is but Elective. And that which run the Empire (not many years past) into so much danger of being reduced under the sole Dominion of the Emperour, and therein of the loss of their liberty, was keeping the Imperial dignity so many Ages in one and the same Family, and especially in one so mighty of it self as *Austria* at that time was, as well as in great Allies, together with the emulation and indigency of some of the Princes subjecting them to temptations, in hopes of bettering their conditions by adhering to the Emperour.

Germany being a Country that affords great variety and plenty of staple Commodities, and accommodated

commodated with the ſeveral Rivers of *Elb*, *Weiſer*, and *Rhine*, of great uſe and length, falling into the North Seas, with good Havens and Ports upon the *Baltick*, is capable of the greateſt improvement by Trade, but is unhappily ſo obſtructed in it, by the multitude of Soveraignties, laying as many Tolls upon Merchandize, paſſing to and fro, both by Land and Water, that without taking them off, it can never come forward in Trade: and of this prejudice (that wiſe Prince) the Elector *Palatine* being ſenſible, made a motion at the laſt Dyet at *Franckford*, to have them taken away, freely offering (like a Father of his Country) to lay down thoſe (though very conſiderable) due to him upon the River *Rhine*, wherein had he prevailed, it could not but have been of vaſt advantage to the whole Nation; but though the Elector of *Brandenburg* (whoſe Tolls are likewiſe great upon the *Rhine*) ſeconded the *Palatines* motion, it not agreeing with the Intereſt of the Eccleſiaſticks (who are for getting in their time all they can to themſelves, without any regard to the publick) the Elector of *Mentz* firſt, and after him the other Eccleſiaſticks, that have alſo Tolls upon the *Rhine* (preferring their own private before the general good, as they there univerſally do) ſo oppoſed the propoſal, that it fell to the ground, and left *Germany* (whoſe people have a genius for Trade) under no increaſe of advantage for Commerce, nor more incouragement in it, than the liberty the free Imperial Cities, and their prudent examples give to the people, ſo that were it not for thoſe Cities, Commerce being accounted in this Country, inconſiſtent with Nobility or

This Elector ſince dead.

Gentry, and Slavery rendring a Peasantry unfit for it, this great and good Land, wonderfully accommodated for Trade, would have little benefit by it; and therefore since it is Trade that makes every Country great, it is the Domestick Interest of *Germany*,

First, To maintain their free Towns in their just rights and liberties, and that in reference to the advancement of Trade, which cannot be improved without liberty; for I dare undertake to foretel, that those Princes which do promise to themselves great advantage, in the subduing of their Neighbour Republicks, shall find more loss by the decay of Trade, that the reducement of them will occasion to their Countries, than they will find profit by becoming Masters of them, for nothing makes Countries rich but Trade, and nothing increaseth Trade but freedom; as *Stade*, *Magdeburg*, and *Munster*, in their several Countries do sufficiently evince, those Cities, as well as the Countries wherein they lie, being now miserable poor to what they formerly were under liberty; and I have been credibly informed, that the Duke of *Brunswick*, from a sense he hath of the decay of Trade in his Country, since his reducement of the City of *Brunswick*, doth already repent his taking of it. And indeed I know no reason that can be assigned, why *Poland* that is so good and rich a Country of it self, furnished with natural advantages for Trade, should come so far short of *Germany* in Wealth as it doth, but the want of freedom and liberty in their Government to incourage Trade, and of Free Cities in the Country, to carry on Commerce, which *Germany* is happy in.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is their Intereſt to maintain their free Cities in their Liberties, becauſe under freedom, they are and will ever be, more formidable Bulworks againſt the incroachments of their Emperours, or any other Potentate upon their rights, than they will be in the hands of any Prince, and that their formidableneſs adds much to the greatneſs of the Empire; and though this may happily be excepted againſt by ſome out of a ſottiſh averſeneſs to freedom, yet the advantage they were of to the Aſſertors of liberty in the War of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, doth fully make it good.

Thirdly, Becauſe as it is the general Intereſt of all *Germany*, in reference to their ſafety, to maintain the Republicks, ſo it is eſpecially the particular Intereſt of all the Proteſtant Princes to uphold them, in that they are all (ſave ſome few) of their perſwaſion, and are ſo many ſure Fortreſſes againſt Popery, and do contribute exceedingly to the caſting the ballance of Dominion on the Proteſtant ſide; beſide that the proſperity of them, beyond what is found in the Popiſh Cities, is of good example to the reſt of the Empire, both as to Religion and Induſtry.

Fourthly, It is the Domeſtick Intereſt of *Germany*, to reduce the Election of their Emperours to the Primitive Inſtitution, in not continuing that dignity too long in any one Family, for although they have at preſent eſcaped the danger of being ſubdued by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that Family being now not only brought low, but alſo in want of Princes of active and daring Spirits, with able parts (there being none left ſave the Emperour and young King of *Spain*) neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking, it cannot well in our

Age put their Liberties any more in hazard, yet the example may be dangerous to poſterity, when peradventure *Auſtria* may recover its vigour, or a more puiſſant Potentate obtain the Crown. And as to that exception againſt laying aſide this preſent Family, becauſe of their ability to oppoſe the Turk, it may be anſwered, that their Hereditary Countries lying next to the Dominions of the Grand Signior, it will be as much the particular Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, without the Imperial Crown, to oppoſe the Turk, as if they had that dignity.

Fifthly, It is their Intereſt to avoid the Election of a Prince that may be too great for them, becauſe aſpiring to uſurpation doth ordinarily accompany greatneſs.

Sixthly, It is their Intereſt to maintain a good Intelligence and Union among themſelves, not admitting difference in Religion to make any in State (leſt thereby they give advantage to their Enemies) but to be equal towards all, protecting the meaneſt as well as the greateſt, in their juſt rights and liberties, without ſuffering any to oppreſs another, and to lay it down as a certain Maxim, that ruine can never overtake them, but by diviſion.

And could the Nobility and great men of *Sweden* be content with their condition, and to live upon what God hath given them, that Kingdom might be of great uſe to this Country, in not only oppoſing (upon all occaſions) the incroachments of their Emperours, or ambitious Neighbours, but alſo in ballancing of the Romiſh party, making it thereby, as well the general Intereſt of the Empire, as the particular concern of the Proteſtant

testant Princes and States, to preserve and protect them (though strangers) as well as others, in the enjoyment of their possessions in *Germany*; but by their success in the Wars of this latter Age, they have with the spoils of other Countries, been so habituated to live (and brought to affect a Grandeur) so much above their *Swedish* Revenues, that it may well be foretold, that if ever by Peace their supplies from abroad come to fail, they will be subjected to the profitable temptations of any that shall desire to set them at work, without regarding against whom it is, and so change the Interest of the Empire, from that of preserving them, to that of driving of them out of the Country.

Seventhly, It is the particular Interest of the Protestant Princes, to endeavour to undeceive the Popish Princes, by making them sensible, that the pretence of Religion, which their Priests and Jesuits do fraudulently make use of to stir them up against the Protestant party, is only that they may thereby the better gradually destroy them both, their true Principle being for one Monarch, as it is for one Priest or Pope. And thus to come to their Foreign Interest, now they are delivered from all danger from the House of *Austria*, that is

First, To be jealous of the *French*, not believeing themselves secure, until they have reduced them within former bounds, who having justled the *Austrian* Family out of their design for the Universal Monarchy, seem to be stepped into the same themselves, and to be more formidable in it than they ever were. And as all other Princes and States, as well as those of *Germany*, ought to be

jealous of that Nation, who declare the acquiring of glory a ſufficient ground (without other cauſe) for killing and deſtroying their Neighbours, ſo they ought all to agree, for the fettering and reſtraining ſuch looſe and unchriſtian Principles, eſpecially ſince nothing more is needful in the Caſe than a general reſolution for denying of them Levies; for from the ſlavery of that people, ſuch is their unfitneſs for War, that when ever they ſhall be confined to home for Souldiers, or be denied recruits by *England*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, they will be conſtrained as well as contented to live in Peace with their Neighbours.

Secondly, It is the Intereſt of *Germany*, to be careful to keep the *Baltick Sea* divided as it now is, not ſuffering the ingroſſing of it by any one Prince, eſpecially not by their Emperours, nor this preſent Family to be Maſters of any Sea Ports; for had they formerly had the advantage of Havens for Harbouring, forming, and raiſing of a Navy, the *Swedes* could never have entered the Empire, nor the Emperour have probably failed in his deſign for Uſurpation.

Thirdly, It is the Intereſt of the Princes to concern themſelves in the Election of the King of *Poland* (becauſe bordering upon them) oppoſing ſo far as is poſſible, the Choice of either *French* or *Swede* to be King, in regard of the advantages that thoſe two Potentates have each already upon them, in the ſeveral footings they have in the Empire, and to obſtruct their Emperours arriving at it himſelf, leſt by ſuch an acquiſition, he ſhould prove too great for them. And thus the Intereſt of the Empire is the ſupporting of the free Towns in reference to trade, as the only way to greaten the Nation,

Nation, to unite for the preservation of every individual in their just rights and liberties, and opposing all incroachments of their Emperours and Neighbours, or Invasion of Foreigners.

And now as to the particular Interest of the Emperour, that is much changed from what it was, for formerly he judged it his Interest, to divide the Princes of the Empire, that thereby destroying them by degrees, he might at last make himself absolute Master of them all, and in order to that design, to oblige the Pope and his party by persecuting of all his Protestant Subjects throughout his Dominions; but now neither Pope nor *Spaniard* being able to afford him any considerable assistance, and the *French* King grown so great, that should the young King of *Spain* be taken away, he would probably quarrel with him for the Succession of the *Spanish* Dominions, and after stripping him of his most remote Inheritance, then invade him in *Germany*, which circumstances make it his true Interest to lay aside all persecution, and all designs of incroaching upon the Empire, endeavouring cordially to reconcile and satisfy all perswasions and Interests, making a firm and real Union throughout the Empire, for common Justice, defence and preservation, and after the example of the wise Venetians, to exclude the Ecclesiasticks all share in his Councils and Civil Government; for if he shall still in his severity against the Reformed, hearken to the Jesuits (who according to their Church Politicks, chuse always rather to be Masters of Error, than Scholars of Truth) they will infallibly be his ruine: And beside the Alarms from *France*, to awaken him herein, the experience he hath had

of

of twenty two Years of Peace (ſave a little exerciſe from the Turk) may convince him of the truth hereof, in that though it is now ſo long ſince the Treaty at *Munſter* in 1648. which gave him a general reſt and quiet, inſtead of augmenting in Power and Riches, as all good Governments do in times of Peace, he is decayed and grown leſs conſiderable than in time of War, and chiefly by his perſecutions in *Hungaria*, and the reſt of his Hereditary Countries (that part of *Hungaria* yet remaining unto him, being ready to revolt unto the Turk) unto which he hath been ſolely acted by his Eccleſiaſticks, to whom (out of an exceſs of blind devotion) he hath too too much given himſelf up. And thus I have done with the Intereſt of the Empire and Emperour.

THE

THE INTEREST OF Switzerland.

THoſe ſeveral United Countries known by the general name of *Switzerland*, are ſmall and Mountainous, ſurrounded with *Germany*, *France*, the *Alpes*, and the Lake of *Geneve*, the laſt parting them from *Savoy*. By this name are underſtood thirteen Provinces, or (as they call them) Cantons, each being a Republick, and abſolute Soveraigns, as to their particular Governments and Affairs within their reſpective Juriſdictions, all which being united for common ſafety and preſervation, make for thoſe ends only a Conjunctive Common-wealth.

Theſe Cantons are called *Zurick*, *Bearne*, *Baſſell*, *Shafshouſen*, *Urie*, *Zwits*, *Underwalden*, *Lucern*, *Zugg*, *Fribourg*, *Solatourn*, *Apenzell*, and *Glaris*, which are of ſeveral Religions, the four firſt being all Reformed or Calviniſts, the next ſeven entirely Papiſts, and the two laſt mixed, though the major part of both are Reformed: For it is an infallible obſervation, that where ever in any City or Country, Proteſtantiſm and Popery are but equally priviledged, countenanced and tolerated

rated by the Magiſtrate, there the Reformed exceed the other much in number, as at *Augsbourgh*, *&c.* The four Calviniſt Cantons are more than trebble the bigneſs of all the ſeven Popiſh, which for their ſmallneſs are called the little Cantons, ſo that that properly called *Switz*, gives not its name to the whole by way of eminence, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, and as *Holland* doth in the *United Netherlands* (it not being a fourth part ſo conſiderable as ſome of the greateſt, and eſpecially not as *Bearne*) but becauſe it was the firſt that aſſerted its liberty.

As their Religion is of ſeveral kinds, ſo are their Forms of Government, ſome being wholly Democratical, as *Switz*, *Urie*, *Underwalden*, *Zugg*, *Glaris*, and *Apenzell*, eſpecially the two laſt, and the reſt, ſome more, others leſs Ariſtocratical, but none perfectly ſo. At *Baſſell* the Gentry are excluded the Government, for having practiſed the ſubverſion of it, and ſome of the little Cantons have no Nobility; but at *Bearn* (which is reckoned in bigneſs a fourth part of the whole thirteen, and as big as ſome ſix of the little Cantons) *Zurick*, *Solatourne*, &c. the Gentry are in great eſteem, and the Chief in their Government, their Anceſtors not having forfeited their right to it, by treachery to their Countries, as ſome of the others did, for which they were excluded.

Beſide the reſpective Juriſdictions of each ſo theſe Cantons, they have ſeveral Territories belonging, ſome to all the Cantons in common, ſave *Apenſell*, others to but 3, 7, 8, 9, *&c.* as the four Bailiwicks in *Italy* (viz. *Mendriz*, *Valmadia*, *Lugana* and *Logarno*) belong to twelve Cantons, and

and that of *Bade* to eight; as others obey, ſome ſeven, and ſome but three Cantons, *&c.*

The General Council for the Union meets of courſe every four and twentieth of *June* at *Bade* (a Bailiwick belonging to eight Cantons as is before obſerved) to conſider of all their common concern for the Year enſuing, and at other times as oft as occaſion requires, *Zurick* having the priviledge as firſt in rank to ſummon the Aſſembly.

There are alſo ſeveral other Republicks that are the Confederates of theſe thirteen Cantons, as the *Griſons*, *Valaſions*, the Cities of *Rontviell*, *Mulhuſen*, *Biell*, *Geneva*, and St. *Gall*, &c. all Republicks, and the laſt ſuch zealous Calviniſts, that though the Abbot (called by the name of the Town, and reputed alſo a Prince of the Empire) hath his Convent of Benedictins, his Palace, and Reſidence in the City with all the Country round about it, even unto the very Walls of the City, yet is not able to gain any of the Citizens to his Religion, there not being a Papiſt in the Town but what are within the Walls of the Abby, an Argument of great Vertue and Zeal in the Magiſtrates and Miniſters, for were there a looſeneſs in either, there would be a defection in the people.

At my abode here, there being one of the Chief of the City condemned to die for Adultery, I ſaw the tears and Prayers of his Wife, and many ſmall Children, upon their Knees to the Magiſtrates for his pardon rejected, which methought argued great equality in their Juſtice.

But theſe petty Republicks, are not all Confederates

federates with the whole thirteen Cantons, but some with more, and others with fewer of them according to their several stipulations, and the County of *Newburg*, or in English *Newcastle*, which is a Confederate and Ally of the Canton of *Bearne* alone, are so zealous in the Reformed Religion, that they will not suffer (as I was informed) the Duke of *Longevil*, who is their Prince, to use singing Mass (which they call High Mass) in his own Castle when he is with them, but must content himself with reading Mass.

These Countries are (as is the portion of most Mountainous places) happy in rich Vallies, affording plenty of Provisions, and all necessaries for the sustentation of Nature; but their situation, in their great distance from Sea, want of Rivers (which is in some measure supplied with Lakes) and staple Commodities, renders them uncapable of much more Trade, than that of hiring out their men to other States and Princes for Souldiers, which they do upon two accounts. First, for that being incompassed with potent Princes, and having no Wars at home, they hold it necessary to have a Nursery of Souldiers abroad; and secondly, for that otherwise their Country having no Trade to Sea, nor Wars at home, they should be overstocked with people; but what they do herein, is with the preservation of liberty, no man being forced to Foreign Service, but every one left in that to his own choice.

Their other greatest advantages are from a thorough-fair for Travellers, Merchants, and Merchandize to *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, having two great Marts annually at *Zurzack* in the Bailiwick of *Bade*, where *Germans*, *Italians*, and *French*

French meet, with their ſeveral Commodities, with a large linen Manufacture at St. *Gall*, and ſome benefit the Univerſity at *Baſſell*, and ſeveral *Gymnaſiums*, bring to their reſpective Cantons.

Now although theſe Countries making a Merchandize of their ſuper-numerary people, with condition always of calling them home upon occaſions, may ſeem to render them formidable to their Neighbours, yet ſeveral Circumſtances conſidered, they are unfit for Conqueſts. As firſt, being incompaſſed with Countries greater, and more potent than themſelves, as with *Germany* and *France*, ſhould they grow ambitious, they would eaſily be run down. Secondly, wanting Horſe and Money, their Country having a ſcarcity of both, eſpecially of the latter, they are not accommodated for Invaſions, in that invaders, where preſent ſucceſs cannot be relied upon, muſt not be unprovided of either. And thirdly, their Conſtitution being as in State a mixture of Governments, ſo in Church of Religion, they are only fit for common defence, not being whilſt under ſuch circumſtances, capable of agreeing upon a deſign for acquiſition, each Religion being likely to oppoſe the falling upon thoſe of their own belief, beſide that the difficulty in ſatisfying every concern, upon the good ſucceſs of their Arms, and the many occaſions that would ariſe from thence of differences among them, ſhew their chief ſecurity, and internal Intereſt, to conſiſt in being content with their own, and as a means to keep what they have, to nouriſh and maintain in their Neighbours their preſent principle of obſtructing one the others ſubduing of them, as that wherein conſiſts their ſafety: from all which

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their Intereſt may be Calculated to be in ſeeking Peace with all their Neighbours, where they are not neceſſitated to Arms, ſtudying the preſervation of their ſeveral Countries and Liberties, nature ſeeming to have fitted them moſt for defence in the difficulty of their Advenues, and in the courage and aptneſs of their men for foot ſervice, to make good and keep the paſſages into their Country; and in order to this, they ought as their external Intereſt, to hold a good Intelligence with the German Princes, and free Cities, and particularly with the *United Netherlands*, from whom (in reſpect of the affinity that is betwixt them, both in Religion and Government, without any poſſibility of their prejudicing them in their Trade) they may expect as hearty an aſſiſtance, as ſo great a diſtance is capable of.

And further, they ought not to ſuffer difference in Religion to be any ground of quarrel, nor the Popiſh Cantons their Church-men (whoſe Politicks are always both ſelfiſh and deſtructive) to have any influence upon their Councils, but after the example of the wiſe *Venetians*, to baniſh them their Conſultations, their Maxims (to which they are conſtant and true) being to foment animoſities againſt the Reformed Cantons, which the others ought carefully to prevent, keeping cloſe to this truth, that diſunion will be their diſſolution.

And yet further, as with great reaſon they formerly (being then jealous of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, becauſe of their pretenſions to them) held a good correſpondence with *France*, ſo it is now the Intereſt of them all, to be jealous of the growing greatneſs of that King, and being firm

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to the Houſe of *Auſtria* (the danger of the Emperour being at preſent over) to hold a true Friendſhip with them; and this is all I have to ſay at this time of *Switzerland*, beſides obſerving the great prudence and honeſt policy of the Reformed Cantons, in their Law, that obligeth every one amongſt them that ſhall turn Papiſts, to quit the Country, with liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and go into a Popiſh Canton, or whither elſe they pleaſe, and this they do not upon a Religious but civil account; for it is not their deluſive, ridiculous, and Romantick Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory and Super-erogation, *&c.* that they quarrel with, but their owning a Foreign head, holding that no Faith is to be kept with thoſe they call Hereticks, and that the murthering of ſuch is meritorious, with other the like Principles deſtructive of all Morality, rendering them unſociable and not fit for the Converſation of Proteſtants, which is the reaſon of their Law. And in the Canton of *Apenzell* mixed of both Religions, the Reformed are ſo ſenſible of the danger in living promiſcuouſly with the Papiſts, that though they are much the ſtronger party, they live in one part of the Country as the Romaniſts do the like in the other part, and this ſeems by a common conſent to be neceſſary; for where the Clemency of the Biſhops was not intereſted in the change of Religion, all Countries in their firſt Reformation ſwept their Lands of the Papiſts, and have ever ſince kept themſelves clear of them, except ſome places in *Germany* where the Emperour Capitulated for them, and in the *Low Countries*, where being the firſt Revolters, they Capitulated for

themſelves, as meriting a liberty of Cohabitation without a publick Toleration. It is true, *Denmark* and *Sweden* have in their ſeveral Churches thoſe they call Biſhops, as ſix in the firſt, and about the ſame number in the latter; but they are no more than (according to the genuine ſignification of the word) meer Overſeers without any Juriſdiction.

I am aſtoniſhed to hear the prudence of our Anceſtors ſometimes complained of, by perſons not (in other things) wanting underſtanding, for making it Death for Prieſts, Natives of *England*, to come into it, as if there were hardſhip in that Law, when experience hath ſufficiently ſhewed us, that Liberty to them, is Cruelty to the Proteſtants, Sir *John Temple* laying the reaſon of the Maſſacre in *Ireland*, upon the not putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Popiſh Clergy, and ſince that was the Cauſe of the Murther of ſome hundred thouſands of Proteſtants, by ſeveral tortures and barbarous Cruelties in that Country, I fear they that neglected the Execution of the Laws, are not able to anſwer for the blood of ſo many Innocent Chriſtians.

I am not for Perſecution upon the account of Conſcience, but do think it an honeſt, civil, political Conſtitution, without the leaſt mixture of Religion, to make it Death for Prieſts and Jeſuits to come into a Proteſtant Country, ſince the immorality of their Principles is deſtructive to the Peace and Tranquillity of ſuch Nations, and inconſiſtent with the well-being of them; and it's to be admired, that the contrary opinion ſhould in any kind obtain in *England*, when that Kingdom hath been under the perpetual exerciſe of their wicked

wicked and deviliſh Plots and Deſigns, ever ſince the firſt Reformation until this day.

And if it be lawful in *England* to Execute a Proteſtant that ſhall return after baniſhment upon penalty of Death, when his Crime for which he was baniſhed was not Death by the Law, and returns not with any intent of miſchief to the Nation (as none will deny but it is) it's ſurely much more lawful to do the ſame by Prieſts and Jeſuits, whoſe deſigns in their return are always moſt dangerous and miſchievous; and to intereſt Religion in their coming into the Country, becauſe as they pretend, for the edification of thoſe of their Church, as an excuſe for them in it, is no more than they may do for murthering Proteſtants, their Religion not only warranting them therein, but alſo teaching them to do it as Meritorious.

THE INTEREST OF FRANCE.

THis Country is reckoned to contain thirty two Provinces, wherein many leſſer Counties are compriſed, being of a round from, about five hundred miles in diameter: And as it is thus conſiderable in Circuit, ſo it is much more in populouſneſs, exceeding in that all other Countries in Chriſtendom, and hath in it ſeveral Principalities, belonging to Subjects with Soveraign power appertaining to them, but are all now (though not until of late) reduced to that condition, as renders them at the devotion of the King.

France hath ſeldom fewer than forty or fifty Dukes, of whom the Princes of the Legitimate blood are the firſt in precedence, thoſe of the Illegitimate the Second, thoſe deſcended from Foreign Soveraign Princes (as thoſe of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, *Savoy*, and *Mantoua*) the third, and the Dukes of *French* Families, not of the blood, and of Foreign Families, not derived from Soveraign Princes, are the laſt in rank amongſt them, and take place according to their Creations.

Next to the Dukes are the Mareſchals of *France*, and

and of this Order (which is a Military honour for life only) there uſed antiently to be no more than two, but they have by degrees been ſo increaſed, that of late there have been ſeldom fewer than thirteen or fourteen, and ſometimes more; they abound in other titles, but under the degrees of Dukes, and Peers of *France*, Mareſchals, with other Military and Civil Officers. There is no certainty as to mens qualities (except in ſome few antient known Families of Counts and Marqueſſes) it being ordinary with their Gallants, ſome to aſſume the Titles of Marqueſſes, Counts, and Barons, which are not due to them, and others to purchaſe them, which being obtained at low rates, without ſuitable immunities, make them numerous and therefore little regarded.

The antient Government of *France* was by the three Eſtates of the Country, upon whom (as repreſenting the body of the Kingdom) was (as *D'Avila* reports) devolved (during their ſitting) the whole authority of the Nation, the Kings power (whilſt they were in being) ſeeming to be ſuſpended; but at laſt an Arbitrary Power being indiſcreetly, and raſhly given to *Charles* the Seventh (under pretence of neceſſity) to raiſe money in the interval of General Aſſemblies, their Kings having ever ſince kept that Prerogative (though granted at firſt, but during a certain emergent occaſion) have impoſed what taxes they pleaſed upon the people, without asking the conſent of the Eſtates, ſave that *Britaign*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphinée*, and *Burgundy*, do each of them retain ſtill the ſeeming priviledge of three Eſtates, or Orders, which (though very antient) they are forced to preſerve at dear rates by great preſents

(almoſt equivalent to the taxes of other Provinces) made to their Soveraign.

After the *French* Kings had aſſumed the raiſing of money by their own ſingle Authority, yet they continued a long time the calling (upon occaſion) the Eſtates together, until having wearied them with fruitleſs meetings (in that the Purſe being loſt, they were become meerly journeymen to the Court) and prepared them thereby for diſſolution, they were totally laid aſide, there having been to this time, no Aſſembly of Eſtates, ſince the Year one thouſand ſix hundred twenty ſeven (about two years after *Richlieu's* entring upon his Miniſtry) and now never likely to be any more, the Crown having gradually ingroſſed all power to it ſelf, to the miſery of that Nation. And this example may well be a caution to all people, who have any priviledges left, to be jealous of them, and careful how they part with them, priviledges not being ſo eaſily recovered from Princes, as reſigned to them, moſt of them being like other men, ready to take all they can get, but unwilling to part with any thing they can keep.

This Nation is ſo large, populous, and fruitful, furniſhed with convenient Manufactures, and ſtaple Commodities, that were it under a free and good Government, nothing might be thought too hard for its undertaking. But although the *French* being ſenſible of the benefit of Trade, endeavour the augmenting of it, yet as the Popiſh Religion in its nature, is (in a great meaſure) inconſiſtent with it, in their not only indulging idleneſs in all ſorts of people, but alſo in inviting them to it, by their manydays they call holy,

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and particularly in their incouraging their numerous Pilgrims (who ever after prove ordinarily common Wanderers and Vagabonds, if not Thieves and Highway-men) as well as the multitude of their Secular and Regular Prieſts and Fryers, eſpecially thoſe that profeſs begging; ſo alſo as all abſolute rule founded in Arbitrary will and pleaſure, cannot be upheld but by Inſtruments that muſt be allowed in corrupt and diſhoneſt practices, wronging the King or Prince, as they judge he doth the people, ſharing with him in oppreſſing and injuring of them: Traffick cannot be improved above the nature of the Government, which reacheth little further than to a particular Monopolizing of Commerce (and not to an Univerſal indulging of Trade and Induſtry) in granting immunities to Favourites, and countenancing them before others.

So that as *France* cannot well from its natural advantages, be without a good ſhare in Trade, ſo the obſtructions neceſſarily attending the Government, both in Church and State, are ſuch, together with the vaſt unalienated revenue of the Eccleſiaſticks, that it can never be improved to what otherwiſe it is capable of; and to ſpeak politically, it is the better for their Neighbours that it is ſo with them, leſt elſe they might peradventure prove too great for them. For although they they have not in any degree ſuch bold Rivers and Havens for men of War, and Ships of burthen as *England*, yet it is wonderfully accommodated with Rivers of great length and uſe for conveyance of Merchandize, Travellers and Paſſengers by flat-bottomed Boats.

And of theſe Rivers there are four in Chief,

exceeding the reſt, which empty themſelves advantagiouſly into the Sea, in the four ſeveral quarters of the Land, beſide many leſſer Rivers, ſome of which fall into the greater, and the reſt immediately into the Sea.

The four Capital Rivers, are the *Seine*, *Loyer*, *Garonne*, and *Rhoſne*. The firſt riſeth in *Burgundie*, and running through *Champaigne*, and ſeveral Cities in that and other Countries, takes *Paris* and *Rouen* in its way, and falls at *Haverdegrace* into the Britiſh Sea, being in its whole courſe of great benefit to Merchants and Travellers.

The *Loyer* riſeth in that part of the Country called the *Cevennes*, running by *Nevers*, *Orleance*, *Blois*, *Tours*, *Saumers*, and ſeveral other Cities and Towns, and in its courſe, having received ſome other ſmaller Rivers, paſſing by *Nantes* falls into the Bay of *Biſcay*, ſome few Miles below it. This River is accounted the Chief of all *France*, for its long ſtream and uſefulneſs, being Navigable with flat-bottomed Boats, near (as I believe) if not full three hundred Engliſh Miles, and yet (which is unuſual) is not ſo for greater Veſſels above twenty Miles.

The *Garonne* riſeth in the *Pyrenean* Mountains, upon the Territories of *Spain*, and ſaluting in its way many Cities and Towns, falls into the Bay of *Biſcay*, forty or fifty Miles below *Bourdeaux*; this is the beſt and moſt Navigable River of all *France* for Ships of burthen, the Tide flowing many Miles into the Land.

The *Rhoſne* riſeth in *Switzerland*, paſſeth through the Lake of *Geneve*, and that City, and not half a days Journey beyond it, loſing it ſelf under ground, after ſome few Engliſh Miles riſeth again,

again, and comes a great River to *Lyons*, falling into the Mediterranean about eighty English Miles below it, after having in its course passed by several other Cities, as *Vienne*, *Avignon*, and *Arles*. *&c.* The rapidness of this River, which is very great, makes it the less useful, but at *Lyons*, the River *Saone* falls into it, which in its way thither, is of great benefit to that City, and other places.

France though thus rich in Rivers, beside many Creeks, yet wants good Havens and Ports. Their Coast in the narrow Seas is dangerous from the lowness of the Land, many Rocks lying in the Sea, and want of good and well situated Harbours, their best being *Haverdegrace* and St. *Maloes*, although neither of them to be boasted of, the first having a dangerous entrance, and when within, as ill riding, the River being bad even up to *Ronen*; and the latter, though it hath a good Haven within, yet the entrance is very perilous, from many Rocks that lie scattered far into the Sea. *Diep* is the next, but at high Water, not for Vessels of above 150. Tuns, which lie dry at low Water, all the rest, as *Calis*, *Caen*, and many others, deserve no better name than Creeks, although the ostentatious way of *French* Writers, mention them sometimes as good Ports. *Brest* in *Britaignie* lying upon the Ocean is a good Haven, but being in that part of the Country which hath not much Trade, the greatest use of it is, for the Kings men of War, kept for the Seas on this side the Mediterranean, it affording Water enough for Vessels of the greatest burthen. There are in the Bay of *Biscay* (which is that great Bay found in the Map, made by *France* and *Spain*) along that Coast

Coaſt many Ports, as *Nantes*, *Rochel*, *Bourdeaux*, *Bleavet*, *Croiſwicke*, *Maran*, *Charent*, St. *John de Luce*, &c. of which the four firſt are the beſt, the reſt being of no great conſideration, more than what that at *Charent* is, by the Haven and Dock which the King hath lately made there, for the riding and building of Ships, it lying too deep in the Bay, and too remote from the main Ocean, to be of much other uſe.

Beſide theſe Ports, there are ſeveral Roads, as at St. *Martins*, in the Iſle of *Ree*, as alſo betwixt the Iſle of *Oleron*, and the Main, from *Trimbado* to *Charent*, where ſome of the Kings men of War did (if they do not ſtill) uſe to ride.

Of Ports within the *Mediterranean*, there are no more belonging to *France* that deſerve any name, than *Marſeilles*, and *Toulon*, the latter only good as to Ships of War, being without Trade; but the firſt is a great trading City, and the Harbour, where the Kings Gallies for thoſe Seas are for the moſt part kept, as the other is principally for his Ships of War.

The Coaſts of *France* lying thus upon the Ocean, Britiſh, and Mediterranean Seas, they all afford their ſeveral ſtaple Commodities, and the Inland variety of wrought ſilks, and toyes, made in *France*, and carried out by Land as well as Sea.

From the Coaſt upon the narrow Seas, come ſeveral ſorts of linnen to a great value, as from *Rouen*, St. *Maloes*, and *Morleys*, beſides Wine from *Rouen*, with Paper and other leſſer Commodities from both that City, and *Caen*. From the Coaſt in the Bay of *Biſcay*, come vaſt quantities of Wines, as from *Nantes*, *Rochel*, Iſle of *Ree*, and *Bourdeaux*, with great ſtore of Salt, and ſometimes

ſometimes Corn and other Merchandize. From *Marſeilles* in the *Mediterranean*, is ſent of ſtaple Commodities none but Oil, and a fine ſort of Soap, with ſome other Merchandize of leſs concernment.

And now *France* being thus conſidered, with its ſtaple Commodities, Ports, Havens, and Roads, ſufficient for Merchants uſe (though ſhort of thoſe in *England*) Inland Manufactures of ſilk, Woolen, and other ſorts, with conveniency of Rivers uſeful for conveyance of goods and perſons, and a free paſſage by Land to all their bordering Neighbours, as to *Spain*, the Seventeen Netherlands, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and *Italy*, it may be reckoned to have great advantages for Commerce, and to have Trade its Natural Intereſt.

This Kingdom thus circumſtanced, and interpoſing by ſituation betwixt *Spain* and that Kings other Territories and Allies, was naturally fitted to obſtruct and prevent (as for many years it did) the Houſe of *Auſtria* in their deſign for the Univerſal Monarchy. For although *France*, joining with *Holland*, could not alone without *England* have hindered it, neither could *England* and *Holland*, without *France*, have well done it, a Conjunction of Powers being then neceſſary for keeping the ballance againſt *Spain*, as it now is againſt *France*.

Whilſt *France* was under difficulties, it was the Intereſt of *England* (as they did) to keep them up, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould have fallen under the power of *Auſtria*, but when they came to be equal with *Spain* as by degrees they did, and be able of themſelves to make good their ground in the *Netherlands*, *Catalonia*, and *Italy*, for ſeveral Years

Years together, without any material difference on either ſide, *England* did not only then ſit ſtill, but alſo the States of *Holland* (who until the Year 1648. were in a League offenſive and defenſive, with *France* againſt *Spain*) being then at liberty, and judging it their Intereſt (as it really was) to make Peace with *Spain*, and be paſſive, they very wiſely reſolved upon it and effected it, and with deſign to keep thoſe two great Potentates in an *æquilibrium*, as the Long Parliament of *England* had prudently given them the Example, which *Cromwel* had he aimed at the publick, as much as his own private Intereſt, would ſurely have followed, but not doing that he caſt the Ballance of Dominion on the ſide of the *French*, to the irreparable loſs of Chriſtendom.

This Country hath not at once but gradually arrived at its preſent greatneſs, having made and gained ſeveral additions, at ſeveral times, as (to look no further back) *Henry* the Second got by the Sword the ſeveral Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Verdun*, and *Toule*, which are part of *Lorrain*, and members of the Empire.

Henry the Fourth added that part of *Navar*, lying on this ſide the *Pyrenean* Mountains (as being his Inheritance) and *la Breſs* lying near *Geneve* on this ſide the *Alpes*, receiving it from the Duke of *Savoy*, in exchange for the Marquiſat of *Saluce*, lying in *Italy* beyond the *Alpes*.

Lewis the Thirteenth got from the Duke of *Bulloin*, the ſtrong City of *Sedan*, with its Principality, and therein a paſſage into the Dutchy of *Luxenburg*, and ſo forward into *Germany*.

This preſent King *Lewis* the Fourteenth, had given him by the Treaty at *Munſter*, the City of *Briſac*,

Brisac, with part of *Alsatia*, belonging to it, and *Philipsburg* in the *Lower Palatine*, two reputed invincible Holds, both much at an equal distance of a day and a halfs journey, from the great Imperial free City of *Strasburg* in *Germany*, to the great grief of that Town, the first lying above, as the latter below it, and all three upon the River *Rhine*.

Philipsburg taken from the French in the late War.

By this Peace with *Spain*, at St. *John de Luce*, when he married his present Queen (a Daughter of that Crown) he got his Conquests in the *Spanish Netherlands* confirmed to him, being all the Province of *Artoise* (save St. *Omer* and *Aires*) several parts of the several Provinces of *Flanders*, *Henego*, and *Namures*, with the County of *Rossillion*, joyning upon (if not part of) *Catalonia*, and in that the strong Frontier Garrison of *Perpinion*. And in *Italy*, *Pignorolo*, with the Vallies thereunto belonging, since this, and in the year 1661. the *French* jugled the Duke of *Lorrain* out of his Country, and now pretend after the Dukes decease, a right of Inheritance in it to them and their Heirs for ever, having at present a free passage through that Country, the fastnesses being by them demolished, and the Duke stripped of all means of opposing them.

St. *Omers* and *Aires* lately taken by the French.

By the last Peace with *Spain* 1668. they had granted to them the Cities of *Lisle*, *Oudenard*, *Cortray*, &c. in the *Spanish Netherlands*, which they had the year before surreptitiously fallen upon, and seized; and thus the *French* have augmented their Dominions, and in doing of it, rendred them-

themselves much the more considerable, in having now most of their Frontier Garrisons upon acquired Lands, giving them free passage into their Neighbours Territories, leaving their own Country at the more liberty to follow their Commerce and Manufactures (Souldiers and Armies being Enemies to both) which they wisely incourage, as that which must lay the foundation of their strength in riches, and an increase of Shipping, the Cities and great trading Towns not being so burthened and taxed, as the Peasants in the Country, and other smaller Towns are.

Whilst the *French* were in fear of *Spain*, they sought Alliance against him, with the Protestant Princes and States, indulging their Reformed Subjects, by confirmation of old Edicts in their behalfs, with acknowledment of their fidelity and good service, neglecting and slighting whatever the Pope and his party might think of them for it; but since they have been freed from all danger thence, looking upon their Interest as changed, they have changed their Maxims, from those that were for preservation only, to such as are for increase also, seeming now to observe the same rules in reference to *Rome*, which *Spain* followed in the time of their aspiring, as in pretending so much zeal for the Romish Religion, as may render their King Protector of that party, (and as cruelty against Dissenters, in matters of belief, is by all false Religions more approved of than devotion, so) by evidencing their sincerity, in a persecution of their Reformed Subjects, pretending to favour the Popes greatness, though to the end only that he may do the like for them, endeavouring to delude others into a contributing to their

their deſigns, either by gaining them as Pentioners to ſtand Neuters in their Expeditions and Invaſions, or by procuring them to joyn, in hopes of ſharing with them in the ruine of thoſe that ſhall ſtand moſt in their way, that ſo they may gradually devour all, and at no greater expence than by the rewarding of their adherents for their aſſiſtance, with the priviledge only of being laſt deſtroyed: and in order hereunto, they have laboured to draw *England* from *Holland* and the triple League unto themſelves, that ſo they might the eaſilier ſubdue the *United Netherlands*, and make themſelves Maſters of their ſtrength, which they have cauſe to fear, will otherwiſe be an invincible Bulwark in their progreſs.

And for alluring *England* to joyn with them therein, it is probable, that they tempted them with large ſhares in their Conqueſts; but it hath been (as it is to be hoped it ever will be) the wiſdom of his Majeſty, and the Miniſters of that wiſe State and Nation, to reject all temptations, as knowing that they being an Iſland, the increaſe of the *French* upon the Continent, muſt ſo much exceed any advantage that can accrue to them by it, that when they have done their work, the Engliſh (as well as other Princes and States) muſt be at their devotion, not only for all they ſhall hold bordering upon them, but alſo for what elſe they ſhall any where poſſeſs.

And now the deſigns of the *French*, being manifeſtly for greatneſs, without ſcrupling any thing whatſoever, that may obſtruct them in it, their Foreign Intereſt, according to their corrupt principles, muſt conſequently be,

Firſt, In perſonating a great concern for Popery,

pery, that they may be no more thought (as formerly) Heretical Papiſts, but on the contrary the moſt zealous of that Church.

Secondly, In prevailing, if poſſible, for one of their Faction to be choſen Pope, as alſo (upon vacancies) into all other Elective Governments.

Thirdly, In ingaging as many of the Northern Princes, by penſions or otherwiſe, as they can.

Fourthly, In making *England* their Ally, and the reſt of their Neighbours Neuters, or ſow ſeeds of Sedition among them, for preventing their obſervation of them, until they have devoured the ſeventeen Provinces, that ſo they may not any more need to court, but threaten the World. And all theſe artifices may be obſerved, ſome of them to be publickly owned, and the reſt endeavoured by their Ambaſſadors corrupting Miniſters of State, in all Courts where it is feaſible, as there are not many uncorruptible: and thus much for their Foreign Intereſt,

As for their Domeſtick Intereſt, whilſt they will carry on an Arbitrary Government, it muſt conſequently follow to be the keeping always in Arms, ready as well to invade *Spain*, ſhould that young King be ſwept away by death (upon the pretence of Succeſſion) as for ſuppreſſing Inſurrections; Abſolute and Arbitrary Governments, where the hearts of the people muſt be wanting, not being otherwiſe to be maintained than by force.

Secondly, It is their Intereſt to increaſe Trade, ſo far as the nature and kind of their Government will admit, there being no other way to augment their Naval ſtrength (which they muſt neceſſarily endeavour) than by Trade, to the advancing

vancing of which their Country affords naturally many helps.

Thirdly, It is their Intereſt to be careful in keeping Faith with all men, as that which is of greateſt advantage to any Prince or State. It is more honour for the memory of *Francis* the Firſt, to have it recorded of him, that he uſed to ſay, that if Faith were utterly baniſhed out of the World, it ſhould be found in his word, than that ſaying of Cardinal *Mazarine* to the prejudice of Princes, that they ought not to be Slaves to their words (as if they were leſs obliged to moral honeſty than other men) is for his memory.

And fourthly, It is their Intereſt to incourage and indulge their Reformed Subjects, as well in reference to the promoting Trade (they being more induſtrious in it than the reſt) as to their own ſecurity, and therefore (in their Caſe) not to follow the *Spaniards* former example, in perſecuting of them.

All theſe Maxims the *French* may be ſaid to have exactly followed, except that of keeping Faith, which to their prejudice they have miſerably forfeited towards *Spain* (if the Baron of *Iſala* write truth) as well as in the perſecuting of their Proteſtant Subjects, in both which, they ſurely miſs their Intereſt. In the firſt, For that nothing can be of greater loſs to any people than that of reputation in keeping of Faith, according to that honeſt German, or High Dutch Proverb, *Faith loſt and all is loſt:* And in the latter, for that conſidering the great Diſcontents and ſecret animoſities, that may well be preſumed to be in their Kingdom, proceeding from the heavy burthens that they lie under, together with the dormant

pretences which have not been long quieted, and which would probably have a Reſurrection, ſhould the Government fall to a Prince during his Minority, as alſo conſidering the turbulent humour of the Grandees of the Kingdom, who have in all times been apt to fly out upon any Diſcontent, they ought in prudence to make ſure of the Reformed party, who whilſt they enjoy Liberty of Conſcience, according to the Laws of the Land, can have no other Intereſt than theirs that give them their right, and who were the Protectors of the King in the time of his Nonage, and to whom according to his own Declaration of the 8 *July*, 1643. and again the 22 *May*, 1652. ratified and Confirmed in Parliament, he is ſo much obliged; for in theſe Declarations, he acknowledgeth to have received (meaning in the laſt Civil Wars to which his laſt Declaration refers) full and certain teſtimony and proof of their affection and fidelity, in conſideration whereof he promiſeth to maintain them in the full and entire enjoyment of all their priviledges granted to them by the Edict of *Nantes* (their *Magna Charta*) and all other Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Rules, Articles, and Breviates in their favour, all which are lately tranſlated into Engliſh.

And upon theſe grounds, it is the Intereſt of the *French*, to make ſure of the reformed party, leſt Death ſhould ſeize their King, before his Son (who hath not yet attained the Age of ten Years) can be capable of the management of affairs; nay though the *French* may for ſerving their preſent deſigns, think it their advantage to oblige the Court of *Rome* by perſecuting their Proteſtant Subjects, it is not their Intereſt (were it in their power)

power) to make them all of the Popiſh belief; for ſurely, the keeping their Reformed Subjects divided in Religion, from that of *Rome*, in ways as contrary as light to darkneſs, whereby the two parties are made ſpies one upon the other, muſt be their great ſecurity; for as the Reformed can have no other deſigns or Intereſt than that of their King, and that the Papiſts have a Foreign Intereſt, and may have (as they have often had) other deſigns, ſo the Proteſtants will be (as they have often been) checks upon the Papiſts; and as they are a very conſiderable party, ſo they will always be the ſame to the King againſt any of his oppoſers, or the diſcontents of his greateſt Subjects.

Lewis the Thirteenth acknowledged at the Siege of *Rochell*, that it is not in the power of man to force the Conſcience, and confeſſeth, that convincing the underſtanding in matters of Religion, is the Prerogative of God only; and this is ſo great a truth, that without offering violence to right reaſon, it is no more to be denied, than that it is not in humane power to add to the Stature of a man; for though Perſecution may make Hypocrites, it can no more make a new Conſcience than it can a new Face.

And though I will not undertake for an infallible obſervation without exception, yet that the ſpirit of Perſecution in Church-men, proceeds from want either of Sobriety, Learning, Miniſterial parts, or all of them, I believe will be found as ſeldom to fail as any other; for lacking ſome, or all of theſe qualities to value themſelves upon, they endeavour to ſupply their defects with an exceſs of formality, in Habits, Geſtures, humane

Ceremonies, and Perſecution for Non-Conformity, as a recommendation of themſelves unto the World: and this holds not only among Proteſtants, but alſo ſo far among the Papiſts, that the more vertuous, wiſe, and learned that any of them are, the leſs cruel and unmerciful they are, as were it needful, many inſtances hereof in the ſeveral perſwaſions might be given. And thus much, with the Addition of the Intereſt of *Geneve*, becauſe bordering upon *France*, and ſpeaking that Language, ſhall ſerve at this time for this Kingdom.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF DISCOURSE UPON THE City and Intereſt OF GENEVE.

Geneve is an antient City, reckoned three hundred Years before *Rome*; it ſtands at the bottom of that Lake which bears its name, upon uneven and Hilly ground, having on one ſide *Savoy*, within a quarter of a Mile, (and the Mountains of that Country at three or four Miles diſtance, though from their height ſeem cloſe by) on another ſide the Lake, which being there contracted, runs through the lower part of the City into the River *Rhoſne*; on a third ſide *France*, within leſs than a Mile, and their own Territories (which are about four miles in length) on a fourth ſide.

It was always a free City, but whilſt of the Romiſh Religion, had a Biſhop, with a Dean and Canons in it, whom (after Reformation) they turned out, converting their Houſes to other publick uſes, making it unlawful for a Stranger Pa-

piſt to lodge in the City above a certain ſhort time, and as I remember, two or three Nights at moſt; the Town is ſmall, not being when I was there above two Engliſh Miles in compaſs, but by the bounty of *Holland*, and ſome Proteſtant Princes, they have ſince inlarged it (which they were then in doing) by taking in (for their better defence) ſome ground, which whilſt it lay without their Walls, was diſadvantageous to them.

They are without any ſignificant natural helps for Trade, having neither an uſeful River, or Sea near them; for though the Lake into which the River of *Rhoſne* (that riſeth in *Switzerland*) falls, runs through the City, where it ends and makes again the ſame River being there contracted within Banks, yet about nine or ten Miles beyond this place (though one of the rapideſt Rivers in Chriſtendom) it's ſo much loſt under ground that one may paſs dry ſhod over it, and is thereby rendered altogether uſeleſs to the Town; but ſome Miles further, it riſeth again, and comes a great River to *Lyons* in *France*: ſo that the chief advantage this place hath, is from their good Order and Adminiſtration, inviting Travellers, as *Germans*, *Netherlanders*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Poles*, that are of the Proteſtant Belief, to viſit them, and begin their Travels with them, they having Churches and Sermons in the ſeveral Languages of Italian, High Dutch, and French (the laſt being their own Tongue) all exercíſes as well learnt as in other places, and cheaper, Dancing and Cards being allowed or connived at in Strangers, though not permitted to their own Citizens; and though the vulgar ſpeak a bad *French*, or *Savoyard*, the better ſort

ſort ſpeak as well as in moſt parts; for as Learning is the ordinary improver and refiner of Languages, ſo this City hath the advantage of that in having a *Schola Illuſtris*, which is an Univerſity, without the priviledge of conferring Degrees.

Their Trade is by the Manufactures of the Town, as in Silks, Gold, Silver, and thread Lace, Piſtols, Shamoy Leather, Watches, and Printing of Books, *&c.* all which would not ſignifie much as to their ſupport, were not Traffick improved by Liberty and Freedom, their Government being frugally managed and carried on; Firſt, by a great Council of two hundred, in whom is placed the Legiſlative Power; and Secondly, by a Senate of five and twenty, choſen out, and part of the two hundred.

Of theſe five and twenty, there are ſixteen of the Order of Burgo-Maſters, who come to that Office in turns, by four every Year; theſe four Burgo-Maſters, or Syndics, have each their diſtinct Office; as the firſt is for matters of State, the ſecond over the Hoſpitals, the third over the Militia, and the fourth over the Reformation; to ſee to the obſervation of their Orders and Decrees, both in Church and State.

When any of the five and twenty die, their places are filled by the Election of the two hundred, as when any of the great Council, that is not of the Senate, die, by the Election of the five and twenty, every individual member of the two hundred, wherein the five and twenty are compriſed, do once a Year come one by one to Tryal by the Balloting Box, in the great Council, whether they deſerve to be continued or not, and ac-

cordingly they are continued or rejected; but except they are by this way for ſome miſcarriage caſt out, they are all in for their Lives.

The Chief Magiſtrates are at *Chriſtmas* choſen by the people in general, every one that is a Freeman of the Town, having a Voice in their Election, which is ſolemnly made in the great Church.

The Court of Juſtice for Civil Cauſes, is conſtituted of one called the Lieutenant, having ſix called Auditors joined with him, who make (as they ſtile it) the firſt Court for Civil Cauſes, whoſe Judgment in all matters under five Crowns (about 23 s. *ſter.*) is final, but in Cauſes above that ſum, there lie three Appeals; Firſt to the Court called the Appellations; Secondly, to the Senate of five and twenty, and Laſtly, to the great Council of two hundred, whoſe ſentence is abſolute.

Criminal Cauſes are heard by the Lieutenant alone, who reports the whole matter to the five and twenty, whoſe Decree is Concluſive, but the Sentence is pronounced by the Lieutenant only, from a Seat made for that purpoſe in the open ſtreet. They have here a municipal Law, which I have not heard of elſewhere, That they will not harbour or protect Murtherers, but if ſuch flying to them are in their City, and complained of by Prince, State, or others concerned, they will either take the Judgment of the matter to themſelves, or deliver up the party or parties complained of, to thoſe that ſhall accuſe, and demand them to be Tryed where the Fact was committed.

The Militia is Ordered by a Committee of ſixty, choſen out of the Burgo-Maſters, Senators, and

and the 175. I call them 175. becauſe the twenty five being deducted out of the two hundred, there remain ſo many Common-Councellors.

The Church in the City is governed by the Miniſters of it in general (being fifteen in number) the Burgo-Maſter that is for the Reformation, and ſix choſen promiſcuouſly out of the great Council, which Aſſembly of twenty two is called the Conſiſtory, but all their reſolutions are brought to the two hundred for Confirmation, and without their Sanction are of no force.

Their Territories being about four Engliſh Miles out-right (as is before-mentioned) is divided into thirteen Congregations, with as many Miniſters, and theſe Miniſters joining at certain times of the Year, with the Conſiſtory of the City for the Government of the whole Church in both City and Country, the Aſſembly of the whole is called the Congregation or Synod, whoſe Acts muſt alſo be confirmed by the great Council before they are binding.

This Country affords plenty of Wine and Corn, all proviſions being very cheap, and the Lake which is forty Miles in length, and of an uncertain breadth, from ten or twelve Miles, to in ſome places two or three, affords excellent Fiſh, as Carps, *&c.* but Trouts the beſt in Chriſtendom, they being frequently ſent many Miles, becauſe of their rarity, as Preſents to great perſons.

Their allowances to their Miniſters are very frugal, to each, in Proviſions and Money to the value of about 50 or 60 *l ſtar.* and famous *Calvin* had never much more, as his Eſtate at his Death ſeems to own, in that he left behind him, not above

above ſixty pounds *ſter.* his Library reckoned in; from which may be obſerved, that a few Books well choſen, may ſerve a Learned Miniſter, eſpecially if he live in a City, where there is either a publick Library, or Books to be hired, as there is here; he gave Charge upon his Death-Bed, not to bury him otherwiſe than in the common Burial-place without the Town, where he hath only a plain Stone laid upon his Grave, which ſhews his Humility, as his private Salary doth his being void of Covetouſneſs, and the equality in the Church Government (which he was the framer of) his not ſeeking after Dominion, or great things for himſelf, all three Cardinal Vertues in a Churchman.

This City is a Confederate of the Canton of *Bearne* (which lyeth over againſt them, on the contrary ſide of the Lake) who upon occaſion is to furniſh them with two or three thouſand Foot, as they are reciprocally to do the like for them with one thouſand, the Town it ſelf not affording in all, of men able to bear Arms above five thouſand, but moſt of them are expert in ſhooting, and handling of their Fire Arms, being incouraged thereto by a prize allowed by the State to be ſhot for every Week.

The Duke of *Savoy* pretends a Title to this Town, but they ſay without other ground than the conveniency and nearneſs of it to him, and were it not that the French King as well as the Cantons of *Switzerland*, are not willing he ſhould be Maſter of ſo great an advantage, he would certainly attempt it, as his Anceſtor *Charles Emmanuel* did in the Year 1602. when he acted Diſſimulation, Hypocriſie, and breach of Faith, to the

the greateſt height that any Hiſtory mentioneth, ſave that of *Charles* the Ninth of *France*, in his contriving the *Barthol'mew* Maſſacre; and for their deliverance from his bloody Plot, which was (without reſpect to Age or Sex, except the reſerving ſome Virgins for luſtful ends) for putting all to the Sword, they ſtill hold an Anniverſary Day of Thankſgiving.

Their condition being thus, their Intereſt is ſoon ſummed up, in being jealous of *Savoy*, courting and ſeeking the favour of the *French* King, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, making it the Intereſt of them both, to defend them againſt the third. And as they are now, or at leaſt were when I was with them, well governed, the Town being then very civil, peaceable, and modeſt in their behaviour, and exemplary in their habits, being in that ſo regulated, that the greateſt Women of the City were not ſuffered to wear their Cloaths longer than touching the ground, nor to uſe Gold, Silver, or thread Lace, except very narrow, and of ſmall value, ſo it is their Intereſt to continue the ſame good order, as invitations to ſtrangers to ſend their Sons thither, to begin their Travels, and ſpend their money with them, as alſo to Merchants to make the road through their City, their way into *Italy*, *France*, or *Germany*.

I know this Republick hath many Enemies, men being influenced thereunto by ſuch as are haters of their Doctrine, Church Diſcipline, or manner of worſhip, and upon theſe ſeveral accounts I expect oppoſition to what I write; but I would not be underſtood, by my Commendations of this City, to intend the defending of it as altogether faultleſs; or further than that (when I was there)

compared

compared to other places in *France* (of which I have had experience) that are the ordinary reſidence of ſeveral Nations (the great corrupter of Morals) it exceeded them all very much in Sobriety and Vertue, deſerving all the Commendations I give it; and ſince my obſervation hereof, I have found (as a concurrent teſtimony with me in what I ſay of them) the Chaſtity of the Women, gravity of the Men, and modeſty of both Sexes in their attire, *&c.* aſſerted by that Book called the Eſtates, Empires, and Principalities of the World, writ in *French*, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr *Grimſton* Serjeant at Armes.

In Mr *Calvin*'s time there was one named *Bolſec* (who had been a Monk of the Carmelites Order at *Paris*) that came to *Geneve* (and probably ſent with deſign to interrupt their Reformation) pretending to be a Convert to the Reformed Religion, ſometimes practiſing as a Phyſician, but at laſt as a Divine, endeavouring then to trouble the Church by pernicious errors, as he alſo did by his wicked, ſcandalous life and converſation.

Calvin according to his wonted zeal oppoſed him, labouring to convince him of his errors in a full Aſſembly; but perſiſting in them, he was by the advice of all the Conſiſtory Excommunicated, which inraged him againſt *Calvin* to that degree, as was a great diſturbance to the Peace of the City, provoking the Magiſtrates thereof for that reaſon to baniſh him *Geneve* with ſound of the Trumpet, upon penalty if he returned of being whipped out of the Town: hereupon he went to the Canton of *Bearn* in *Switzerland*, to complain of Injuſtice done him, but his factious and ſeditious ſpirit being alſo there in a little time diſcovered,

vered, they did the ſame by him in baniſhing of him, as *Geneve* had done.

After this, *Bolſec* pretending to be ſenſible of his errors, preſented himſelf to the National Synod held at *Orleance* in the Year 1562. and there deſired pardon of God and of his Church, for all his evil practices, promiſing ſolemnly for the future to renounce them all. Yet afterwards returned to his vomit again, inſomuch that *Beza* in his anſwer to *Genebrard*, Printed at *Geneve*, 1585. ſaith, that he was an infamous perſon, who had been thrice baniſhed, and had four times revolted, and that after he had ſpit his venom upon both living and dead, died in deſpair.

This was that *Bolſec* (who to be revenged of this City, as well as of *Calvin* and the whole Reformed Church, as alſo thereby to render himſelf the more acceptable to the Romiſh party, from whom he had revolted) that writ that infamous Libel, compoſed of nothing but Satanical lies and inventions, Printed in the Year 1577. which paſſeth among the Adverſaries of the Reformed Religion, for a true Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Mr *Calvin*.

The Crimes this Libel chargeth him with, are ſome committed (as he feignedly ſaith) at *Shaalon* in *Champaign*, the reſt at *Geneve*; beſides accuſing him of being one of the wickedeſt of men in Life and Converſation, as that he was a Drunkard, a Whore-Maſter, a Glutton, and an Epicure, *&c.* That he pretended to raiſe men from the dead, of which deceit he was detected. That he died in deſpair, Swearing, Blaſpheming, calling upon the Devils, denying the Faith, deteſting his work of Reformation in the Church, Curſing the

the Day that ever he put Pen to Paper. That he was eaten up with Worms and Lice, dying of that Disease which is called the Iouzy Disease, *&c.*

I enumerate these things, to the end, first to shew the calumniating practices in former times as well as now of Papists against Protestants; and secondly, as believing that but even naming of them, with the condition of the Libeller, is sufficient to disprove the Libel, though for the reputation of Mr *Calvin* it may be further said in his behalf,

First, That this Libel was writ thirteen Years after he was dead, and that during his life there was not one of these Crimes laid to his Charge, but after so many Years silence were devised and writ by a professed, malicious, and implacable Enemy.

Secondly, That that eminent servant of God *Beza*, who was his Contemporary at *Geneve*, and who was with him at his Death, hath writ his Life, and given him a due Encomium, which ought according to the Papists own Maxims to be believed by them rather than the testimony of such a profligate Fellow as *Bolsec*, who had several times revolted from their Religion; than which, no man with them can be guilty of a greater crime and less deserve credit; for with Papists, the testimony even of a born Protestant, whom they call a Heretick, is not to be taken, and much less the evidence of a Revolter.

Thirdly, That at *Geneve* all men deny these accusations, having his memory in great honour and esteem, whereas such Vices could never have been stifled by Protestants at *Geneve*, any more, than the Church of *Rome* could stifle in their City, the

the Whoredoms, Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, *&c.* of ſome of their Popes, which themſelves do there own and confeſs.

Fourthly, That *Bolſec* being a known flagitious Fellow, what he ſaid or writ gained no reputation in the World, until Cardinal *Richelieu*, about ſixty or ſeventy Years after *Calvin* was in his Grave, gave ſome life to it, by writing a Book (which he calls a Treatiſe containing the moſt eaſie and ſure way for converting thoſe that have ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*) wherein he makes uſe of *Bolſec*'s Libel, and moſt of the things contained in it.

Fifthly, That upon the publiſhing this Book of *Richelieu*'s, the States of *Holland* thinking their Church concerned in it, gave Order to their Ambaſſadors to take *Shaalon* in their way to *Paris*, to inform themſelves of the truth of what is by the Libel laid to the Charge of *Calvin*, as committed there, and found all to be falſe.

Sixthly, Being my ſelf curious to know the truth of theſe things, I was in my Travels credibly informed, that even one of the Canons of the Cathedral of *Shaalon*, writing the Annals of that Church, takes notice of the aſperſions laid upon *Calvin*, and out of pure generoſity (more than is common with thoſe of his profeſſion) clears him of them, owning the report to be a groundleſs fiction, which being the teſtimony of an Enemy, may well be allowed as a good evidence.

That the Church of *Rome* never did, nor ever will want wicked Inſtruments to lie and ſwear for them, as they ſhall judge will make moſt for their corrupt Intereſt, I never doubted; but that ſo great

great a perſon as Cardinal *Richelieu*, who one would think ſhould have valued himſelf, as well upon the honour and reputation of his actions, as upon the conſiderableneſs of the figure he made in the World, ſhould give countenance to ſuch odious and hateful ſlanders, I cannot ſufficiently wonder at, as I have ſometimes alſo admired to hear this famous perſon Mr *Calvin*, who was ſo great a light in the Church of God, and who hath left ſuch ample teſtimonies and Monuments of ſingular Piety, Learning, and Spiritual Knowledge, ſhould have his memory ſo unthankfully undervalued by Eccleſiaſticks, and even by ſome pretending to Reformation, as we find it is, when they ought rather to have his tranſcendant excellencies in the higheſt eſtimation; but ſince I underſtood how his humility reproves the grandeur, riches, and dominion ſtriven for by Church-men, in a ſelf-denying contentedneſs under a ſmall Salary, and leſs power, when it was in his choice to have had what he would deſire, I have ceaſed to wonder at it, no men loving to be touched in their *Diana*, nor to have their failings tacitly reproved by other mens Vertues and Moderation.

Before the Reformation the antient Motto of this City was, *Poſt tenebras ſpero*, and ſince the Reformation they have changed it into *Poſt tenebras lux*. And thus I have done with *Geneve*, which I believe is the leaſt Republick, Independent, and without a Protector, not holding of any Prince or other State, that is found any where, ſave St *Marino*, mentioned in the Intereſt of *Italy*. For though the Republick of *Raguſa* upon the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, was much leſs in Circuit (not being above an Engliſh Mile round) than *Geneve*, yet they had the

Grand

Grand Seignior for their Protector, under whom paying a ſmall Tribute, they enjoyed full and perfect liberty in both Church and State (their Religion being that of *Rome*) living peaceably, and contentedly, until the late dreadful and diſmal Earthquake, deſtroyed (in a great meaſure) both City and People; whereas this City hath no Protector to whom they pay any Tribute, though that incomparable Prince, for Gallantry, Juſtice, great parts, and good nature, *&c.* *Henry* the Fourth of *France* (Grandfather to *Charles* the Second of *Great Brittain*) was always a truly noble, generous, and real Friend to them, not ſuffering them to be injured by any; and at his making a general Peace, though ſo inconſiderable to him, concerned himſelf for them in comprehending them in it as his Friends and Allies.

THE INTEREST OF ITALY.

ITaly is ordinarily resembled to a Leg, joined by the thigh to *France*, *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*, and to all these places by the *Alpes*, the rest of it being (upon the matter) incompassed by the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatick* Seas. It is long and small, in length about eight hundred English Miles, but in breadth so uncertain, as from three hundred to (in some parts of *Naples*) twenty Miles.

The *Apennine* Hills making (as it were) a ridge through this long Country, causeth great diversity in the goodness of the soil, some of it being much more fruitful as well as healthful, than other parts.

The Rivers are not considerable, none of them being Navigable for Ships of burthen: The *Tyber* (upon which *Rome* stands) the *Adige*, *Arne*, and the *Po*, being the best, and of all the last most useful, Merchants, Travellers, and Commodities being conveighed by it in small Boats from *Turine* in *Piedmont* (the residence of the Duke of *Savoy*) to *Venice*,

Venice, which I judge to be in length above two hundred Engliſh Miles, having in the way ſeveral Towns ſtanding upon it. The River *Rubicon* writ of in the Roman ſtories, is now in Summer, whatever it was antiently, a dry Sand, having only in Winter (from Land Floods) water in it; and likewiſe *Oſtia* at the mouth of the *Tyber* (which was formerly the Haven to the Roman Republick, twelve or thirteen Miles from the City) both it and the River is ſo filled up, that it ſerves only now for Fiſher Boats of ten or fifteen Tuns, *Civite Vechia*, at forty Italian Miles diſtance, being now the Port to *Rome* for their Gallies and Merchant Ships.

The *Alpes* which may be called a Wall to this Country, bear divers names, according to the ſeveral places they are in, ſome of them being very difficult and dangerous, others eaſie and ſafe for paſſing over. The beſt are betwixt *Augsbourgh* in *Germany*, and *Venice*, that being a good road without Trouble or danger. The next for conveniency is Mount *Cenée*, betwixt *Chambray* in *Savoy*, and *Turine* in *Piedmont*. The reſt are more ſevere, and ſome of them very dangerous, as thoſe betwixt *Genoua* and *Niece*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, which are very rarely uſed by reaſon of their difficulty.

The Governments in *Italy* are of two kinds, Monarchies and Republicks, each of which being of four ſeveral Degrees, as to power and greatneſs, I ſhall make theſe following Obſervations of them. And to begin with the Monarchies, the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, and thoſe of the Pope, are of the firſt rank, thoſe of *Savoy* and *Tuskany* of the ſecond, thoſe of the Dukes of

Parma, *Mantoua*, *Modena*, and the Biſhop of *Trent* the third, and the petty Dukes and Princes the fourth.

As to the Republicks, *Venice* is much the greateſt, *Genoua* the next, *Lucca* the third, and St. *Marino* the fourth or laſt. The *Venetians* with their Territories, Prudence and Wiſdom, do fully equal the power in *Italy*, of either the King of *Spain* or Pope. *Genoua* though in Revenue much ſhort of the ſecond ſort of Monarchs, yet by their wiſe management of affairs come very near them, and *Lucca* may be compared to the third; as St *Marino* upon the like account unto the fourth.

The Popes Dominions in *Italy* lie much in the midſt of it, being reckoned twelve Provinces, beſide that he poſſeſſeth ſeveral Lands bordering upon the Duke of *Savoys* Country of *Piemont* and *Montferrat*, as alſo upon the Marquiſat of *Treviſain*, belonging to the *Venetians*, with the County of *Avinion* in *France*, and what he hath in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The King of *Spain* holds in *Italy* the Dutchy of *Milain* (in *Lumbardy*) containing eleven Diviſions or Juriſdictions, beſide *Final* upon the *Genoua* Coaſt, and the Kingdom of *Naples* (which is divided into twelve Provinces) with the Iſles of *Sicily*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Sardinia* in the *Mediterranean*, and *Portolongoune* in the Iſle of *Elbe*.

The *Venetian* Territoties are *Iſtria*, with ſo much of *Lumbardy*, and that which they call *Terra firma*, as make fourteen Provinces, a good part of *Dalmatia* lying along the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea, over againſt *Italy*, ſeveral Iſlands in the *Levant*, whereof *Corfu*, *Capholinia*, and *Zant* are the

the Chief, with ſome Iſlands in the *Archipelagoes*.

The Duke of *Savoy* poſſeſſeth in *Italy* the Principality of *Piemont*, with ſeveral other little Principalities and Counties adjoining, as the Marquiſates of *Saluze* and *Aſti*, the Dutchy of *Oſta*, the Counties of *Nizza* and *Vercelli*, with part of *Montferrat*, beſide the Dutchy of *Savoy*, with lyeth not in *Italy*, but on this ſide the *Alpes* bordering upon *France*, as *Piemont* and the reſt of his Dominions are on the other ſide, which as they are generally taken are part of *Italy*, though *Italy* ſtrictly taken according to antient account, is but a part of that which is commonly called ſo.

The great Duke of *Tuskany*, poſſeſſeth moſt of the Country of that name, and particularly that part of it wherein lyeth the City of *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Sienna*, all formerly Republicks, with part of the Iſle of *Elbe*, and the Seigniory of *Pontremolie*, &c.

The Republick of *Genoua* hath under them the Coaſt of *Genoua*, about a hundred and thirty Miles in length, and twenty Miles in breadth, the Soveraignty of the Iſle of *Tarbarke*, which lyeth upon the Coaſt of *Tunis* in *Barbary* (though the ſoil and profits belongto Subjects) with the Iſles of *Corſica* and *Capraia*, lying in the *Mediterranean*, but theſe Iſles are of no great conſideration.

The Duke of *Mantoua* poſſeſſeth the Dutchy of that name, part of *Montferrat*, and in that, the City of *Caſal*, famous for its Fortifications.

The Duke of *Parma* hath in *Lumbardy* the Dutchy of that name, with the Dutchy of *Pla-*

cence, and in the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, the Dutchy of *Caſtro* and *Rouſillon*, beſides ſome places in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Duke of *Modena* hath the Dutchy of *Modena* and *Reggio*, with ſome other Seigniories, all affording no great Revenue.

The Republick of *Lucca*, being a City of twelve regular Baſtions, lying in a level Country, hath only the Vail in which it lyeth (of no conſiderable greatneſs) belonging to it.

The Republick of St *Marino*, is an inacceſſible Hill, otherwiſe than by a way cut up to it, lying in the Popes Territories near the Dutchy of *Urbine*, and is about three Miles over, upon which ſtands the City of St *Marino*, fortified on one ſide by a dreadful Precipice, and on the other by a Wall, with ſome great Guns mounted; it is governed by a Council of five and forty (*viz.*) fifteen Gentlemen, as many Mechanicks, and the like number of Country-men, who all together chuſe every ſix Months two Conſuls out of themſelves. This Hill being all their Territories, hath four Villages upon it, and one Market Town at the bottom of it, the Inhabitants being in the whole, reckoned at ſix or ſeven thouſand Souls, and of fighting men fifteen hundred. They pretend to have been a free State nine hundred or a thouſand Years, but therein I fear they ſtretch, they are Lovers of Liberty, and for that reaſon (as is ſaid) jealous of their Nobility, of which they have twenty Families. In all Wars they have enjoyed Peace, and upon occaſion they ſend Ambaſſadors to their Neighbour Princes and States. I am the larger in this, becauſe a thing little known, or taken notice of in the World.

The

The petty Princes, who are called ſo from the ſmalneſs of their Territories, and not of Soveraignty (being as abſolute within their reſpective Juriſdictions as the reſt) are in number about two or three and twenty (beſide ſuch as are only titular) of which ſome of them were raiſed by Popes, who uſually in their Reigns, make each a Prince in their Families, others came from the City of *Genoua*, as *Monico* and *Doria*, &c. and ſome deſcended from antient Soveraign Princes, but none of them ſo conſiderable as to deſerve any further inſiſting upon, than that they adhere to *France*, or *Spain*, according as they are obliged by their reſpective Intereſts, from their Lands they hold in *France*, *Naples*, or *Milain*, of the one or the other Crown.

Beſide theſe Princes and Republicks, the *French* King holds *Pignorolo* in *Italy*, (a ſtrong Fortification) with ſome adjacent Vallies. The Emperour ſome Cities with their Territories, but inconſiderable. The *Switzers* four Bailiwicks, and the *Griſons* the *Valtoline*. And all theſe Eſtates in *Italy*, are held either of the Emperour or Pope, ſave that the *Venetians* are independant as well as the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Italy taken generally, is with its Iſlands reckoned under four Diviſions: Firſt, That part properly called *Italy*, containing the Eccleſiaſtical Provinces, and *Tuſkany*, in which lies the Republick of *Lucca*. Secondly, *Lumbardy* containing *Piedmont*, *Montferrat*, the Dutchy of *Millain*, Coaſt of *Genoua*, and the Territories of the ſeveral Dukes of *Parma*, *Mantoua*, *Modena*, the Biſhoprick of *Trent*, and the *Venetian* Domain. Thirdly, the Kingdom of *Naples*, being the

Eaſtern part of *Italy*. And fourthly, The Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, lying in the *Mediterranean* Sea. In theſe Diviſions are reckoned near three hundred Archbiſhops and Biſhops, beſides a great number of titular Biſhops, who depending all upon the Pope, add much to his Intereſt, being entirely at his Devotion.

The animoſities and emulations among theſe Italian Princes and States, are great, none ſcarce being content with their own, but coveting more, the Church (according to their nature) waiting all opportunities for increaſe. The Duke of *Tuſkany*, looking with an envious eye upon *Lucca*, becauſe lying within his Country. The Duke of *Savoy*, thinking the Duke of *Mantoua* to have too great a ſhare of *Montferrat*, and the Duke of *Mantoua*, that he hath too little of it, the whole belonging to him. And the *French* King, having got an entrance into *Italy*, and a ſtrong hold in it, in poſſeſſing *Pignorolo*, and the Vallies belonging to it, thirſts after more, ſo that theſe, and other dormant quarrels, as that about *Caſtro*, *&c.* are ſuch, that had not this Country common Enemies, as the *French* and *Turk*, who watch their quarrelling among themſelves, they could not long continue in Peace.

And although their former danger from the Houſe of *Auſtria* is now over, yet the *French* having got an advantageous footing in *Italy*, and the *Turk* approaching them by Sea, both theſe formidable Potentates waiting but an opportunity for falling upon them, it is their general Domeſtick Intereſt, eſpecially the Popes, (and indiſpenſibly neceſſary for them) to unite and agree for common preſervation; and for making their

Union

Union the firmer, to reconcile all their differences, and settle every one in their just rights, priviledges, and liberties, lest the *French* (not out of Vertue so much as a specious pretence for a quarrel) should otherwise take occasion (under colour of relieving the oppressed) to enter *Italy*, of which should he once become master (as in such Case he would without difficulty be, the Country wanting not only Souldiers, but also people to make Souldiers of, and those they have unapt for War) he would in a short time make the Pope to signify no more, than would be consistent with his designs.

For though the *French* King's Interest and Principles, may carry him on to pretend zeal for his Religion, and at present to give testimony of it by the persecution of his Protestant Subjects; yet when by such Artifices he hath cousened the Popish Princes and States, either into a neutrality, or the assisting of him in his great design for Dominion, whereby he will be enabled gradually to devour both Protestant and Papist, when his work is once done, he will then hold it his Interest to countenance liberty of Conscience, as all great Conquerours for keeping their new acquired Provinces in Peace must do, except the fear of inriching his Subjects by it (which Arbitrary Governors do generally dread) do (to his own destruction) hinder him, for he hath too great experience in affairs, not to observe, that where ever Popery doth solely prevail, the people are poor and miserable to what they would be under Reformation: for the effects of idleness, which that Religion doth not only incourage, but also teach and injoyn, cannot be other than Poverty.

And

And as thus in reference to the *French*, the *Italians* ought to agree among themſelves, ſo they alſo ought to do it in reference to the *Turk*, who draws nearer to them than he was, and who can approach them by Sea, leſt otherwiſe he alſo ſhould take advantage from their Diviſions.

And further, were it not the general Maxim of Church-men, to hazard the ſafety of the whole, rather than own an errour, or themſelves in any thing fallible, it were the Intereſt of *Rome*, for the peopling of this Country (which by Tyranny and perſecution, is all ſave *Venice*, *Genoua*, the City of *Naples* and *Lucca*, depopulated) to give liberty of Conſcience, without which it can never be ſo repleniſhed as is neceſſary for their defence, ſome Cities not having a ſixth part, and others not a tenth part of the people they had whilſt they were Republicks, as *Rome*, *Florence*, *Piſa*, *Sienna*, &c. but this ſelf-denial cannot be expected from them, who by a Sentence from Heaven are given up to believe lies and deluſions, as alſo becauſe (according to their Carnal reaſon) it would render their Church Government altogether uſeleſs, in interfering with their pretended Infallibility.

Before the Houſe of *Auſtria* fell from their greatneſs, the danger of *Italy* was moſt from them, and therefore the wiſe *Venetians*, who ſeldom or never miſtake their Intereſt, did not only allow the States of *Holland* (as their Writers affirm) 5000*l ſter.* a Month, during their War with the King of *Spain*, and Houſe of *Auſtria*, but alſo kept a cloſe League and good Intelligence with *France*, from whom they could only expect any conſiderable aſſiſtance, for bridling the ſoaring ambition

bition of that Houſe: but the fear of *Auſtria* being at preſent over, the ſame jealouſy they had of it then, they ought now to have of *France*.

Italy is not only by ſituation (being in a manner a Peninſule) but alſo in abounding in rich and ſtaple Commodities, very convenient for Trade; and were the advantages, and the peoples ingenuities improved to what they are capable of, it might without all peradventure equal in Commerce any Country in *Europe*: but the depopulating of *Italy*, as alſo of *Spain* by ſeverity in State and perſecution in the Church, and the natural averſneſs to Induſtry and Traffick, that is thereby bred in the people of thoſe Countries, with the vaſt Intereſt that the Eccleſiaſticks have in them both, and eſpecially in *Italy*, is the great benefit of the Northern Trading Nations, who bring and fetch from them, moſt of the Commodities that they either want, or have, and even what the growth of their own Country affords; ſo that the reaſon of the Poverty of *Italy*, may be rendred to be the Romiſh Religion, together with not making Trade their Intereſt, as indeed they cannot well do, no Country being capable of it, that is ſo much under the bondage of the Church, and ſubject to their Impoſitions as they are, liberty of Conſcience, and relaxation from the ſeverity of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, being the neceſſary Concomitants of Trade.

I call *Italy* poor, becauſe ſo in the general, and a depopulated Country, denying that it is the riches of ſome few perſons or places, but diffuſive wealth and populouſneſs, that render a Country great and opulent. For it is not long ſince the charge of a ſmall Army for one Year againſt the Pope,

Pope, about the ſucceſſion of the Dutchy of *Urbain*, made the Duke of *Tuskany* (the richeſt Prince in *Italy*) weary of War, and as ſome ſay to leſſen the number of his Gallies, by ſelling ſome of them; and yet when *Florence* alone was under liberty, an Army four times as great would not in a longer time have wearied them.

And it is obſervable, that thoſe places in this Country, which are moſt conſiderable, by being addicted to Traffick, are ſuch, as being looſeſt from the Church, are fulleſt of people, as *Venice*, *Genoua*, and *Lucca*; for the bondage of *Rome* is enmity as well to temporal as ſpiritual proſperity. And thus when I have given you ſome Obſervations upon the ſeveral Cities of *Venice* and *Genoua*, as Members of *Italy*, I have done with this Country.

THE

SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE *Original* and *Government* OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE City of *Venice* is an aggregated Body of Islands (which some reckon seventy in number, united by Bridges, which are Calculated to be near seven hundred) lying in and at the Head of the *Adriatick* Sea, or Gulf of *Venice*, and four or five English Miles from any part of the Continent.

This City derives its Original from the Year four hundred, when the *Goths* and *Lumbards* over-running, wasting and destroying *Italy*, caused many of the Inhabitants near the Sea to fly for safety to these Islands, where applying themselves first to Fishing, and afterwards to Merchandize, they begun

begun their Government with the Choice of two Conſuls every Year, but continued not long in that way, for the Iſlands increaſing in People, they judged it moſt equal for each to ſend a Deputy, for making a general Council for the Government of the whole, which held two hundred and ſixty Years without any material alteration; but much about that time, they Elected a Duke, with a great Council of about four or five hundred in number, choſen promiſcuouſly by the people in general; this Popular way of Government continued until the Year 1325. when an occaſion was taken, to reduce the great Council to all ſuch perſons, and their Legitimate Male Iſſue for ever, that had that Year, or in the laſt four Years going before, been at any time members of the great Council, and that the Sons of all ſuch, ſhould for ever after, at the Age of five and twenty, have right of Seſſion in it without Election, as thoſe of whom it was always to be Conſtituted.

And thus the Government of *Venice* was changed from popular to Ariſtocratical, all Soveraignty being taken from the people, and placed in certain Families (who have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Citizens, by the name or title of *Noble Venetians*) where it now remains. And to preſerve this new order in honour and from corruption, every Nobleman was by Law (as he ſtill is) obliged, within a Month after Marriage, to go with his Wives Father (if living) and three or four more Witneſſes that were preſent at the Solemnity, to the Magiſtrates appointed for that purpoſe, there making Oath, that he was lawfully Married at ſuch

ſuch a time, to ſuch a perſon of good Fame and Legitimate.

And a Son being afterwards born of ſuch a Bed, the Child and Parents names muſt be given in by two Witneſſes to the ſame Magiſtrates within a Month, giving Teſtimonies of the Mothers honourable Reputation; and if the Child live to the Years of twenty, then the Father of him, or if he be dead the Mother, or if both be dead, the next two Friends of the Blood, do go with the Young Man to the Magiſtrates, making Oath that he is the Son of ſuch and ſuch parents, Married ſuch a Day, and whoſe Birth and Name was at ſuch a time ſignified and entered upon Record, which is done at the Age of twenty Years, to the end, that there being every Year a certain number choſen out of the Youth, betwixt twenty and five and twenty Years of Age, to the priviledge of having Seſſion in the great Council and Voting in it, he may be capable of coming into that Election, which is a priviledge granted for the incouragement of Vertue, Merit being of great eſteem with them, and having a great influence upon their Secret Ballot, by which is made all their Elections; for although *Venice* compared with ſome of the Northern parts of *Europe* (where Adultery is ſo odious, that the Crime is Capital, a Baſtard uncapable (ſo much as) of his freedom of a Mechanical Society, and a Freeman of ſuch Fraternities, Marrying a Baſtard, is for the ſame, *ipſo facto*, diſfranchized, as in *Pruſia*, &c.) may be ſaid to be highly guilty of uncleanneſs, yet compared with other parts of *Italy*, they are not ſo, nor guilty of that horrid ſin of Sodomy, as *Rome*, *Florence*, and other parts of that Country

are

are: and although Concubines are by the *Venetians* permitted, their Religion (which is Popery) allowing it being the Cause, yet no Man observed to be a common haunter of Stews, a Drunkard, or exorbitantly given over to his Lusts and Pleasures, is ever imployed by that wise people, who believe such men good for nothing.

Their Government is carried on by several Councils; As first, By that called the Great Council, consisting of all the Patricii or Noble Venetians, together with a Duke for life, who as he is more a piece of formality, or a Pageant of State, than of Power or Authority, so his presence in the Council is not necessary, it being often held without him.

Secondly, By that Council called the Signory, or the Council of ten.

Thirdly, By that Colledge or Council called the Senate, or little Council.

Fourthly, By that Colledge or Council called the Savi or Sages.

Fifthly, By that Council called the Colledge.

And now to take all these Councils in Order, the Great Council hath the Legislative Power, the Choice of the Duke, all the Magistrates of the whole Republick, and many of the great Officers, (but not of all, the Senate having the Election of some) and to this end the great Council meets on the Lords Day, and sometimes on their Holy-Days.

The Signory consists of the Duke, six Councellors chosen by the great Council, and the three Presidents or Chief Judges of their three Chief Judicatures, making in all ten, from whence it is vulgarly called the Council of Ten; this Signory grants

grants all Patents, ſends and receives all Foreign Letters, peruſeth Embaſſadors Credentials, giving them Audience, without returning any other anſwer than that the Duke will conſult the Senate and Colledge upon the matter then delivered.

They take care of the ſafety of the Common-Wealth, and that it receive no damage, ſuppreſſing and puniſhing all Conſpiracies againſt the Government, calling even the Duke himſelf to account, if upon any ſcore they find Cauſe to do it, eſpecially if they have any ground to ſuſpect his deſigning Uſurpation, and have almoſt a general ſuper-interidancy in all State concerns; they have alſo a right of going into, and Voting in all the Colledges and Committees, and of aſſembling the great Council, they ſit every day in the Morning, and once in eight days (or ofter if there be occaſion) with the addition of near thirty of the great Officers of State, appointed to that purpoſe, for all matters of extraordinary concern.

The Senate conſiſts of one hundred and twenty of the Nobility, bearing no other Office than Members of the Great Council (who are called the *Pregadi*) about the like number of other Councellors, Magiſtrates, and Officers of the greateſt Rank, who have by their places right of Seſſion, with Votes, beſides fifty ſix other Officers of Quality, together with all ſuch perſons as have truſted the Common-Wealth to ſuch a certain ſum as is directed by the Law; as alſo all ſuch Magiſtrates as have any new concepts to propound for the bringing them into Laws, have a right of Seſſion, without Votes; ſo that this Council conſiſts of two hundred forty ſeven with Votes,

fifty ſix eminent Officers more, with an uncertain number of Creditors, and propounders of Laws without Votes, all which are called together by the Colledge, which gives notice of it by their Officers, and at the time of their meeting by the tole of a Bell, four of the ſix Councellors of the Council of Ten, and ſixty of ſuch as have Votes in this Council making the *Quorum*.

All Laws are laſt debated by this Council, and brought by them to the Great Council for their Sanction, who have no power of debate, or other than of receiving or rejecting the Laws propounded. The making Peace and War, and all matters of State (except ſome extraordinary Caſes, which for expedition and ſecrecy, are in the Council of Ten) are, after they have been prepared and debated by the Signory and Colledge, brought by them to the Senate for approbation or rejection, who do therein as they think fit, in whom is alſo the Election of ſome great, and many ſmall Officers.

The Council called the Savi or Sages, conſiſts of ſixteen perſons. Six for both Sea and Land affairs, who are called the *Savi grandi*, or Great Sages, five for Land Affairs only, and five for Sea Affairs alone. The ſix take care of all Land and Sea Affairs in general, the other keep each to their particular Province, without ingaging in one anothers Charge; they meet every day in a Council Room near the Signory, each Order having their Preſident, who propounds in the Council what they have to bring in debate; and when any thing is diſcuſſed concerning Land Affairs only, in ſuch Caſe the five for Sea are ſilent, as are alſo the five for Land, in debating any thing concerning

concerning Sea only; but the six *Savi grandi* have a right of Debate and Voting, in all matters concerning either Land or Sea in particular, as the other two Orders have in matters of a mixt nature of both Sea and Land.

The Colledge (which although for method sake I rank last) is of greatest use in the State, being a Conjunction of the Signory, and the Savi, in all six and twenty; for as they both meet every Morning at a certain hour, where in their distinct Council Rooms, they spend separately an hour or more in Debate of their several business, so the Savi going to the Room where the Signory sits, and joyning with them, make that Council they call the Colledge.

And thus the gradations of debating and resolving in matters of State (except what is for secrecy and expedition committed to the Signory alone) is first by the Signory and sixteen Savi, each in their several Rooms distinctly. Secondly, by them two jointly which make the Colledge. And thirdly, by the Senate, who according as they resolve after Debate, rejects or brings all to the great Council, who hath only the last resolution without debate.

And thus much may serve to shew briefly and in general the method of the Venetian Councils, which is all that is by this aimed at; for of the several kinds of Magistrates, Offices, Officers, their Ballot, and their Elections by it, so much hath already been writ, that it is needless to trouble the Reader here with any thing more of them, than to observe, that as Offices are all either honorary or mercenary, so the Officers of the first kind (as Governours of Governments, *&c.*) are

ſo far from having profit added to their honour, that their places are chargeable; and although ſome Military Imployments may be judged to deſerve a benefit by reaſon of the hazard that attends them, yet ſo chargeable are their honourable Offices in the general, that it is accounted a reward anſwerable to the greateſt merit, to confer *gratis* the dignity of a Procurator of St. *Mark*, upon the moſt deſerving perſon, becauſe beſide the honour of it, they are alſo thereby freed from having any Offices impoſed upon them, and of this Order there are twenty four, whereof nine are always made upon the account of merit, and fifteen upon purchaſe, which coſts each Purchaſer, though an honour but for life only, five or ſix thouſand pound *ſtar.*

The Mercenary Offices which have all but frugal Salaries, are conferred upon perſons ſtanding in need of them, for that none but ſuch will deſire them. And as it is not honourable for perſons of large ſubſtance, to ſeek Mercenary Offices, ſo it is accounted irrational, to make honorary places (except in Military ſervice ſubject to danger) profitable, the Duke himſelf loſing by his place, his income not being ſo much as his unavoidable extraordinary charges are. So that the rule of the *Venetians* is to chuſe perſons to their honorary imployments of great Eſtates, able to maintain the honour and dignity of their places, with the benefit of ſome ſmall perquiſits, at their own Charge, and to make the Salaries of their Mercenary Offices very moderate. All honorary charges are in the Nobility, ſave that the Chancellor (who is next the Duke) and the Secretaries, are in the *Plebeians*, which is to incourage Vertue in them, and not to leave them altogether without hope

of honourable preferment in the State. They are great Enemies to Bribery and Corruption, and ſevere puniſhers of it when diſcovered.

The Frame and Conſtitution of this Government, hath in its eye above all other things, general good and ſafety, one of the Excellencies of the *Venetians* being the largeneſs of their Souls for publick Intereſt, wherein they are obſerved by Writers to tranſcend all other people, having not left it in the power of the State, to pardon certain crimes againſt the Republick; as treachery in Governours of Garriſons, Conſpiracies againſt the Common-wealth, holding private Correſpondence with Foreign Princes, or States, or couſenage in Accounts; and if any choſen to an Office, intruſted with Money, prove inſolvent, they that nominated him thereunto, are reſponſible for him to the State. And anſwerable to theſe Rules, ſeems to have been the Complement of a *Venetian* Embaſſador, at his taking leave of old Sir *Henry Vane*, when Secretary of State, in telling him; *That* England *was happy in their King, Country, Nobility and Gentry, and would be perfectly happy, had they publick ſpirits*; but of that he ſaid, *they had the leaſt of any people that ever he had the honour to know*, wherein I wiſh he did not make a true Judgement.

The Duke is for Life, and chiefly as a piece of Ceremony, (without Power) repreſenting the magnificence of the Republick, every one ſtanding bare before him: Though kneeling to him, kiſſing of his hand, painting or cutting of his Arms or Name in any publick place is not allowed. He can do nothing but in the preſence of four of his ſix Councellors of the Council of Ten, and

two of the three Chief Judges of the Chief Court of Justice. He cannot go beyond *Malamoca* (the Haven hard by the City where the Ships ride) nor can he marry any of his Children to Strangers, without leave of the great Council and Senate. All Letters to the State are directed to him, and Letters to other Princes and States are writ in his name, but no Letters are opened except in the presence of at least four of the six Councellors, and two of the Chief Judges, the Minutes of the Letters sent out being under-writ by four Councellors, before the Originals are sent away.

Neither his Children, or Grand-Children, can be chosen to any of the great Offices during his Life, or be Embassadors. His Brother cannot be General, either at Sea or Land, or an Embassador, *&c.* Nor any of his Friends by Consanguinity, be during his Life, of the Council of Ten in the Magistracy, or President of any of the Colledges; nor can any of his Family nominate one to any Office Temporal or Spiritual; and in all Taxes, the Duke bears a greater proportion, than before he was Duke he had done.

All men are prohibited upon severe penalties, the making him or any of his House any presents; but any Office not relating to the Policy or Justice of the State, his Relations are capable of. As to be of the great Council (as their Birthright) a Member of the Senate, a Procurator of St. *Mark*, or any Office relating to the *Arsenal*, University of *Padoua*, or the *Mint*, &c.

And now by all this it appears, that the Children and whole Family of the Duke are prejudiced by his being called to that Dignity, especially in its being a Charge, and no profit to him, and yet

yet there are none of them, but deſire the honour of being Duke, which contradicts that Principle of thoſe that hold it better to be no King, than not to be Abſolute; for let them ſpeak their paſſion as they pleaſe, we find by this Example, that Precedence and Authority is ſo ſweet to the ambitious mind of Man, that men will be content to become Priſoners, as this Duke in ſome kind is, even for a ſhadow of Majeſty and Authority, though without Power.

When the Duke dies, the eldeſt Councellor is Vice-Duke, and he with the reſt of the Council of Ten, takes poſſeſſion of the Palace, and remains in it until a new Duke is choſen. Three perſons called Inquiſitors, and five called Correctors, are choſen by the great Council; the three Inquiſitors inquire into the Adminiſtration of the deceaſed Duke, and if he be found to have been faulty in it, his Heirs have a Fine laid upon them according to the greatneſs of the Crime. The five Correctors inquire what Laws are neceſſary for the good of the Republick, that if any be found needful, they may be made before a new Duke be choſen.

And now as this City is a Member of *Italy*, ſo the general Intereſt of it is the ſame with the Country, in uniting with all the ſeveral Eſtates of it for ſelf-preſervation, and being jealous of *France*, which this wiſe people are ſure not to be wanting in, they being perfect Maſters in the knowledge of their Intereſt, and conſtant in the purſuance of it.

A SHORT DISCOURSE UPON THE REPUBLICK OF GENOUA.

THE Coaſt of *Italy* which runs at the foot of the *Apennine* Hills, along the *Mediterranean*, betwixt the Rivers of *Varr* and *Magre*, is called the Coaſt of *Genoua*, belonging all to that Republick, ſave *Final*, appertaining to the King of *Spain*, with other ſmall things to the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince of *Monaco*, the whole Coaſt being about one hundred and ſixty Miles in length, whereof one hundred and thirty Miles at leaſt, is judged to belong to the *Genoueſers*, upon which ſtands the City of *Genoua*, much about the middle of it.

This Coaſt though thus long, is in no place (belonging to this Common-Wealth) above twenty three or twenty four Engliſh Miles broad, and in ſome places not ſo much; it is all Mountainous from one end to the other, yet affords plenty of Wines, Oiles, Lemmons, Oranges, and other Fruits;

Fruits; the Chief Manufactures of the City, being ſeveral ſorts of Silks, but in Velvets and Tabbies they exceed all other places.

This City is not great, it is ſeated at the bottom of high Hills, the *Mediterranean* waſhing the Southſide, and being built upwards upon the Hill, renders it very beautiful to Ships paſſing by at Sea. But although the Buildings are generally the beſt in *Europe*, the ſtreets ſave one or two are mean, being too narrow, not anſwerable to the Magnificence of the Structures: and it is probable, that the exceſſive heats in Summer (as well as the Hilline ſs of the place) might for coolneſs, by the ſhade of narrow ſtreets, be one cauſe of making them ſo ſtrait. The City is not only well built but the Land ſome Miles about it, affords as good Houſes for Country Buildings as one meets with any where. The moſt remarkable things in this place, are the Mold upon the Sea, within which the Ships lie and ride; the Aquiduct which ſerves the City with freſh Water, and the Walls of the Town, in being carried over high Mountains, all three pieces of great Art; the laſt being deſigned by *Spinola*, the great *Netherland* General (a Native of this City) and purſued ſoon after his Death about forty Years ago, or about the Year 1630. The Walls are near about five Engliſh Miles in compaſs, but the ground within, by reaſon of the Hilline ſs of it, is not above two third parts built, yet is reckoned with Suburbs to contain one hundred and thirty thouſand Souls, which are many for ſo ſmall a place.

This Common Wealth is very antient, and until their Wars with *Venice* (which ended in the Year

Year 1381.) whereby they ſuſtained great loſſes, they were much more formidable than they have been ſince; and their decay giving incouragement to the growing greatneſs of the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, each of them deſigned the ſubduing of it, which cauſed a long time great troubles to it, never ending, until by the valour and gallantry of *Andreas Doria* (a Citizen) it was delivered from Foreign Wars, inteſtine Factions, and ſetled in Peace and Liberty.

This Prince *Doria* (for ſo he then was, as the Family ſtill remains) is ſurely one of the moſt Auguſt Examples of Integrity, Affection, and Faithfulneſs to his Country, that is met with in any ſtory; for being ſo great a Captain (eſpecially at Sea) that his fame cauſed the moſt potent Princes of thoſe times to contend for him (as *France* and *Spain* being then at variance, and in War, each of thoſe Crowns ſtriving to gain him) he made it his rule to ſerve him, by whoſe ſervice he could have the moſt opportunity of preſerving his own Country in Liberty; and as he always conditioned for it, ſo as ſoon as he found either of them to intend breach of Faith with him, (as each of them at ſeveral times deſigned the ſubduing of *Genoua*) he left him, and went to the other, and not being corruptible by the greateſt temptations of either Crown, by conſtancy to his Principles, he made them both at laſt content to leave his Country in Liberty.

And further, when after this he had delivered them in the Year 1547. from the deſign of *Fieſco* (one of their Citizens) who aimed at doing the ſame by them, as the *Medices* had a few Years before done by the Common-Wealth of *Florence*, in

Uſurping

Usurping the Government, they would have made him Hereditary Duke, he refused it, imploying all his Power and Authority (which was exceeding great) in setling them under the Government of a free State, as they now are, and have ever since continued, without any considerable trouble; and being satisfied with some honorary Priviledges conferred upon his Family, was content to have the chief of it (as too great, and therefore dangerous in so small a Republick) excluded bearing any Office in the Government; as for the same reason some other Families are at this day; wherein they act wisely, no Commonwealth being safe where any in the Government exceeds in Riches, Power or Greatness. And although it may be supposed that *Oliver Cromwell* (did he know the story) esteemed this self-denial great folly, and despised his Memory for it, yet the Faithfulness of *Doria* remains an honour to his Family, whereas the falseness of the other will be a perpetual stain to his; for although *Cromwels* Ambition, in dividing his Party that he might Rule, may be reckoned as the Foundation of His Majesties blessed Restauration, and upon that account advantageous to the Kingdom, yet he intending no such thing in it, but on the contrary, the setting of himself up in opposition to the King, deserves no thanks, or honourable memory, but detestation and abhorrency for it.

The artifices which *Fiesco* used for Usurping the Government of this Republick, were much like *Cromwels* practices, in pretending great zeal for publick good, with unbounded Charity towards the Poor, and any indigent necessitous Families or persons, carrying courteously and obligingly towards

towards Friends, Strangers, and Inferiours, and diſſemblingly towards all he ſuſpected were Enemies to his deſign, ſlily and cunningly accuſing the Senate of ill Government, and infuſing ill Opinions into the people of them, as alſo of the Family of Prince *Doria*, becauſe likely to oppoſe him in his deſign, until having got a party, he ſeized the Town without any oppoſition, ſave what *Andreas Doria* and his Nephew (who was ſlain in it) made; but when having all at his own devotion, going proudly as well as needleſly the ſame day in Triumph, to take poſſeſſion of the Gallies lying in the Harbour, in paſſing a long plank to one of them he fell into the Sea, where having his Armour on he ſunk right down, and ſo ended his deſign with his days. Tradition reports him to have been puſhed over by one that followed him, although not mentioned in ſtory, to avoid the entailing a revenge in his Family; but whether it was true or no, it is not material for any to be too curious therein.

His death made ſuch a confuſion in his Party, that *Andreas Doria* (then very aged) taking the advantage of it diſperſed them, ſet the Senate at liberty (who were before Priſoners) and became again the Founder of the Commonwealth. *Fieſco*'s body being found, was judged to be carried ſome leagues to Sea, and with diſgraceful Ceremonies caſt into it; his Eſtate to be confiſcated, his Palace demoliſhed, and by Sentence never any Houſe more to be built whereit ſtood, ſo that the ruines of his Houſe remain until this day a Monument of his Treachery; as on the contrary, the ſtately and curious Statues in white Marble of *Andreas Doria*, and his Nephew (who was ſlain) ſtanding

on

on each ſide of the Stairs aſcending the Senate-Houſe of this City, are true Memorials of their Vertues.

The diſturbance that this Republick formerly met with in their Government, cauſed great unſafety in City and Country, which in ſome meaſure continued long after; and although the Senate hath of late years reduced both to great ſecurity, ſome Travellers making uſe of former times, ſeem to pride much in telling ſtrange ſtories of it at this day.

It was once my lot to hear one come out of *Italy*, but few weeks before my ſelf, affirm amongſt other things of like nature, that beſides the daily Murders committed in *Genoua*, there were twenty thouſand Highway-men in their Dominions, the Heads whereof were perſons of the beſt Families in *Genoua*, that lived upon robbing, whereas if all that travel through their Territories were robbed, none eſcaping, there are not (as I have cauſe to believe) Travellers enough by Land (moſt going thither by Sea to avoid the dreadful Mountains and Precipices) to maintain a hundred Thieves; for having my ſelf travelled (within a few months after this Gentleman left *Italy*) through their Dominions, from one end to the other of all that is well travellable, I neither met one Traveller, nor heard of one Thief; nor whilſt I ſtaid in *Genoua*, which was ſeveral weeks, did I hear of one Murder, nor found cauſe to forbear in the darkeſt nights walking the ſtreets, when my occaſions required it.

I inſtance in this, firſt to ſhew how little heed is to be given to the reports of ſome Travellers, who ſpeaking often out of envy, paſſion, or fooliſh vanity,

nity, in magnifying the dangers they have passed, care not what they say, as this Gentleman did not, who being in years, and Governour to a young Gentleman of Quality, could not but know better. Secondly, That Travellers may not thereby be discouraged; for I cannot but reckon this a very equal Commonwealth, and well worth visiting, having had no cause, whilst I was there, or at *Venice*, to complain of insolency in either of the places, as is ordinary with some to accuse them of. The greatest danger that I could observe in travelling *Italy*, being in making young Gentlemen (not well grounded in Religion) Atheists, by finding so much impiety, and little zeal in a Country which pretends to Infallibility in Religion, and to be the Mother of it.

The Nobility of *Genoua* having the liberty of other Countries, in conversing with Strangers or their own Citizens, are very civil in it (as I have cause to say) towards strangers as well as the rest. But the *Venetians*, being by nature or custom more reserved, have little converse with Travellers, and the Nobility there, wearing a distinguishing Habit, by which they are known, it is dangerous to affront any of them; but as it is so in behalf of them for the maintaining the honour of their Order, so on the contrary, the Law is severe against them, if they dishonour their Quality in abusing others, they having no such Law in either place, as will justifie any of them, in calling a Creditor for demanding a just debt of (may be) seven years or more standing, or for not bearing patiently the being cousened with a false Mortgage or Title of Land, all the opprobrious names imaginable, as in some other Countries, where, if the loser in return

give

give the Debtor any thing more than a ſad look, as in telling him he couſened him, or call him Knave (though one who peradventure common Fame ſpeaks void of all moral honeſty) he ſhall be undone for it, though the keeping of his Family from ſtarving might provoke him to ſay what he did, the Plea of juſtifying not being allowed in the plaineſt matters of Fact; a thing which ſeems to tend much to the incouraging of that oppreſſion, which is ſometimes met with from great perſons; for were Merit and Vertue (which is all that is truly valuable in men) made neceſſary ingredients in acquiring of honour and reſpect from others, Immorality would not raign ſo much in the World as it doth; and ſince we find by experience, that reverence and reſpect will follow juſt and honourable carriage and actions in great perſons, and that even almoſt to adoration, it is pity Vice ſhould any where be priviledged.

The liberty that is taken in theſe Cities in the time of their Carnivals, cannot with right be objected againſt them as any proof of inſolency, that being a time of general Licence, taken by perſons in diſguiſe, like thoſe that in Winter have lately uſed Maſquerading in *London*, where they exceed the *Italians*, in ſome times forcing their entrance into other mens Houſes contrary to the will of the Owners; ſo that if men would but make uſe of that Golden Rule, of doing as they would be done by, they would find no cauſe to cry out, as ſometimes they do, of the inſolencies of the *Genoueſers* and *Venetians*; for though it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Italians* in general are of more unconverſable natures, and more impatient under affronts than other people, yet thoſe qualities are not to

be

be imputed to either of theſe Cities and their Territories, more than to any other parts of *Italy*, nor ſo much as to thoſe places in this Country under the King of *Spain*; neither could I find any cauſe to blame the Government of theſe Republicks of Oppreſſion, as is oft the vanity of Travellers to do: For firſt, their ſeveral Revenues are not ſo great, as render them guilty thereof, that of *Genoua* not being a hundred thouſand pounds *ſtar. per annum*, nor of *Venice* above eight or nine hundred thouſand pounds, which is not much conſidering their Dominions, and their neceſſary defence againſt their envious Neighbours. Secondly, What is levied is equally laid upon the people, and then honeſtly expended for publick good and the neceſſities of the State, without having any of it vainly waſted, or wantoned away, their Salaries not being ſuch as their Officers can raiſe great Eſtates by, their Taxes in both places being too moderate to bear either Couſenage or large Wages; and the freedom of living, and ſecurity at *Venice* is ſo great, that were they Proteſtants as they are Papiſts, I ſhould chuſe next my own Country, to live there before any other Country that I ever ſaw; for I take it for an undeniable truth, that where the Taxes are no more than are neceſſary for ſupport of the Government, without bad husbandry or profuſeneſs, and equally levied, the Government cannot be Tyrannical.

This may well expect the cenſure of thoſe, who being ingaged in maintaining an oppoſite Character, cannot digeſt contradiction; but ſince I never found worſe from theſe people than I have here obſerved, it were ingratitude, and againſt the

the Laws of Society, to speak ill of them, under whose protection I have lived, and that never did me harm; or having occasion to mention them, not to bear a suitable testimony to my experience, though to the disagreeing with such persons, who either as nauseating every thing that is against their appetites, wanting an even and unbiassed mind, or taking reports upon credit, do load them with undeserved reproaches. And none that know me, will imagine I can be led to this by partiality or favour to any thing but truth, being far from an admirer of their Form of Government, though I think well of their Administration (as that which supplies the defect in the other) which is the greatest thing in all Governments. For when equality is the rule, peaceable success and prosperity will be the certain effects of it, as appears by this City, where the Magistrates are so free of all jealousies and fears, that they do not think one Souldier in the Town needful for their security. Nay the ten Lacqueys and other Servants which the Duke is obliged to maintain at his own charge, are not permitted to wear Arms.

And suitable to my observation of them herein, I find the forementioned Author of that Book, called the Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World, writ in French, and translated by Mr. *Grimston* Serjeant at Arms, bearing this testimony of the *Venetians* in their Government (*viz.*) *Finally, there is a wonderful equality, worthy of much commendations in this City, they respect neither poor nor rich; Gentlemen nor common people*; who (as I have said) have some share in this Commonweal, enjoying many Offices which are very

beneficial to them: from whence it is, that the people are much affected unto the Nobility, ſhewing themſelves very humble towards them, in requital of which, the Gentlemen are their Protectors, favouring them in all their neceſſities, advancing them to Honours whereof they are capable. This Signory hath great regard to poverty, for the which they provide by all good means, ſpending much money in keeping down the price of Bread, and other things neceſſary for the life of man, whereby they make the poor, not only ſubject, but even ſlaves to them; it is therefore no wonder if the people do willingly, and without grudging, bear all their burdens, during the neceſſities of the Commonweal.

The people of other Towns ſubject unto this Eſtate, are in like manner very faithful, for that he that goes to govern them, hath no other end but to do juſtice to every man, and to aſſiſt the Towns which are under his charge. For in doing ſo, at his return he obtains the greater Honours; but if he govern himſelf otherwiſe, he is puniſhed and no more imployed. And beſide theſe reaſons for the people loving the *Venetian* Government, there is this alſo, that they are not charged with inſupportable Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, as ſome miſerable Towns are by Tyrants (and the ſame Author goes further) preferring their Form, manner of Government, Adminiſtration, and good Laws, ſo much before all other Commonwealths, that he affirms, thoſe may be ſaid to have been governed by men that were greedy of ſpoil and blood, and this hath been guided by the Creator of all things, found out

and

and framed by Philosophers with a perfect composition, *&c.* And thus much being not my words, but the words of Mr. *Grimston* already published in English, it will I suppose sufficiently justifie me in my sence of the City of *Venice*.

After the *Genouesers* were delivered by *Andreas Doria*, from the dangers threatned by the Factions then raigning, and from all fears of Assaults from either *French* or *Spaniard*, to reduce their Government to a certainty, which during their troubles, had in some Years before suffered many alterations, they caused in the Year 1570. a Register to be made of all their free Citizens, which then consisted of five hundred twenty four distinct Families, and of two thousand one hundred twenty four individual persons of ancient Noble Extraction, and of Chief City Families four hundred eighty seven, with a greater number of individual persons belonging to them; upon all which Registred persons (they alone being called Free Citizens) and all such as should descend from them born in *Genoua*, or in the Country under their obedience, taking up their Freedoms by being Inregistred, not being infamous, nor having exercised any Mechanical Trades within three Years before their Election to any place, is setled the right of Government; providing also, that though Infamy or Mechanical Trades should degrade a Citizen as to Government, yet it should not prejudice his Legitimate Children, being of honourable reputation, and arriving afterwards at a better condition, but that such should be restored to their Ancestors Rights and Priviledges; and that to trade by exchange, in Commodities of Silk or Woollen, to go to Sea or negotiate in

any ſuch like way, without keeping open Shop, ſhould be permitted to any free Citizen without prejudice to his quality.

Bnt though the Government of this City conſiſts thus in the general of Hereditary Freemen (all the reſt of the Inhabitants being reckoned Unfree) yet for the incouragement of Vertue in the Unfree men, the Signory, Colledge and Council in Conjunction, have it in their power every *January* to Elect what number they pleaſe (not having the recommendation of any Prince or State) and not exceeding ten out of the Unfree Inhabitants to be of the number of the Regiſtred and Free Citizens, beſide that the unregiſtred Citizens are eligible to many creditable Offices.

Of Free Citizens and ſuch as belong to *Genoua*, there are ſeveral who bear the Titles of Princes, Marqueſſes, and Counts, from their Lands purchaſed of the King of *Spain*, in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milain*, &c. ſold unto them by ſeveral of thoſe Kings upon condition not to Alienate their Intereſt to any but a Citizen of *Genoua*, to the end that by their Eſtates lying in his Territories, he may keep the City in a dependance upon him, the Government of which (ſave that in it none are born Senators as the Noble *Venetians* are, but come to it by Election) reſembles much that of *Venice*, their Affairs being carried on by five ſeveral Colledges or Councils, as the *Venetian* Government is, (*viz.*)

1. Firſt, By a Duke (who is ſtiled moſt Illuſtrious) Choſen for two Years, with a Council of four hundred, which they call their Senate, but is their greateſt Council and Legiſlative power, Elected annually out of the Freemen.

2. Secondly

2. Secondly, By a Council called the Signory.
3. Thirdly, By a Council called the Colledge.
4. Fourthly, By an Aſſembly called the Council.
5. Fifthly, By that made up of the Signory and Colledge joined in one.

The great Council called the Senate, conſiſts of the Signory and Colledge, with four hundred Elected annually out of the Freemen, living in the City, twenty five Years of Age, having been four Years at leaſt a Regiſtred Citizen, and not having been of the Council the Year before, the Electors having notwithſtanding a liberty, not exceeding ſixty perſons, to make choice of as many as they pleaſe, betwixt twenty two and twenty five Years of Age, to be of the four hundred, three hundred of which, beſide the Members of the Signory and Colledge, being the *Quorum*.

This Senate by four parts of five, gives Sanction to new Laws, grants by pluralities of Votes new Taxes or Impoſitions, and chuſeth Officers to many Offices, but not to all, ſome being in the Election of the Signory, Colledge, and Council joined, unfree Inhabitants being Eligible to many of them.

The Signory conſiſts of the Duke and twelve Councellors, that have been ten Years free, called Governours (who bear the Title of Magnificent) holding their places for two Years, and are not Eligible again in five, theſe together with the Duke, decide moſt queſtions by eight Votes, but in ſome Caſes by eleven; they receive and write Letters, give Audience to Embaſſadors, grants Patents, and order the payment of Money, *&c.* and if in matters of publick nature they do not agree, they call the Colledge to them, and

if ſtill they differ, they call the Council, and then the matter in debate is concluded by plurality of Votes.

The Colledge conſiſts of eight Members called Procurators, choſen for two Years (and in four after not Eligible) together with all ſuch as have been Dukes, who are Procurators during Life.

This Colledge decides all matters in debate by two parts of three, manageth the Revenue, lets to Farm, buys and ſells for the Republick, and in caſe of difference, they call the Signory to their aſſiſtance, and if ſtill they diſagree, they call the Council, and ſo conclude all matters by plurality of Votes.

That called the Council, conſiſts of the Signory, Colledge, and one hundred more, choſen out of the four hundred of the Senate, eighty of which, beſide the Signory and Colledge, being the *Quorum*; theſe have no ſingle work, but in general, the laſt debate of Laws, and many other Caſes brought to them by the Signory and Colledge joined, which being allowed of, are brought by them to the Senate, who reſolves by plurality without debate.

The Signory and Colledge joined, hath the right of ordinary Pardons, carried by two parts of three, but High-Treaſon, Patricide, falſe Coiners, killing a publick Officer, *&c.* cannot be pardoned, but by two third parts of the Signory, Colledge, and Council united.

The firſt debate of all new Laws (agreeable with their Fundamentals) Peace, and War, giving aſſiſtance to their Friends, and making Alliances with Foreign States, *&c.* is by the Signory and Colledge joined, and what is reſolved upon by them

them with four parts of five, they bring to the Council for their allowance, but all matters interfering (in the leaſt) with the fundamentals agreed upon in the Year 1576. (when they perfected their Model of Government) and laying of new Taxes, with ſome other Caſes, are brought to the Senate or Great Council, where all is reſolved by plurality of Votes, without debate, taken by the Ballot, which is uſed in all their deciſions, by every Council. Beſide theſe five Colledges, there are five perſons called Conſervators of the Laws, whoſe Office anſwereth their name, in looking to the keeping of the Laws, and Adminiſtring Oaths to the Electors, they being always preſent at the Election of all the Colledges,

The Duke muſt dwell in the publick palace, where he is accompanied by two of the twelve Governours, who remain always with him; he is to be one inhabiting in the City, that hath not been Duke in five Years before, that is fifty Years of Age, no Baſtard (for though a natural Son of a Noble *Genoueſer*, may be of the great Council, he cannot be Duke) and that hath an Eſtate able to ſupport the Dignity of the place, and is not to lie one Night out of the City, without having firſt obtained leave of the Senate; he propounds in the Senate and Council, all Laws or other matters of publick concern, and having according to his Election ſerved two Years leſs three Days, he leaves the publick Palace, and retires to his own Houſe, where he remains private for eight days, in which time, inquiry being made into his Adminiſtration, if he be found to have faithfully diſcharged his Truſt, he is made

Procurator during Life, if otherwise, he is proceeded against as a Criminal.

Many Circumstances concerning Magistrates, Offices and the qualification of them, as also belonging to the Ballot, with the manner of it, might be instanced in, but there hath already been so much writ of them by others, that more is needless.

And now as to the particular Interest of *Genoua*, that differs nothing from the general Interest of *Italy*, save that as they have great sums of Money due to them from the Crown of *Spain*, and hold considerable Lands of him in *Naples* and *Milain*, so they are more particularly obliged to hold fair with that King than with any other Potentate, though they must do the same towards *France*, as not being able to contest with them; and thus much shall serve at present for *Italy*, and its two great Cities of *Venice* and *Genoua*.

THE

THE INTEREST OF DENMARK.

THis Crown hath nothing more left of that which is propely called *Denmark* than *Jutland* (lying upon the *Maine*, and joining upon the Dutchy of *Holſtein*) with certain Iſlands in the *Baltick* Sea, as the Iſle of *Zealand* (which is the Chief, and wherein ſtands *Copenhagen*, the Kings Principal Reſidence, and Metropolis of the Kingdom) *Feunen*, *Langland*, *Leland* *Bornholme*, *Falſter*, and *Femerne*, all lying in the Eaſt Sea, and *Friezeland* or *Izeland* in the North Sea; there are many more ſmall Iſlands in the *Baltick*, but being of little or no conſideration, I omit the naming of them.

Until the late Wars betwixt this Crown and that of *Sweden*, that in the Years 1643. to 1645. and again in the Years 1656. and 1657. *&c.* This King loſt ſome places to the *Swedes*, both in the *Baltick* and upon the *Main*, on the Northſide of that Sea joining upon *Sweden*; this Kingdom lay upon both ſides of the Eaſt Sea, but hath now nothing remaining on the Northſide, ſo that *Denmark* is at preſent bounded by *Germany*, the North and Baltick (or Eaſt) Seas.

But

But beſides *Denmark* thus deſcribed and bounded, this King hath ſtill the Kingdom of *Norway*, divided from *Sweden* on the Eaſt by great Mountains, having the Northern Sea on all other ſides, and in *Germany* half the Dutchy of *Holſtein*, part of thoſe Countries called *Ditchmarſh* and *Iderſey*, lying on the North Sea, and his ſhare of the two Counties of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhurſt*, fallen lately to him by the Death of their Earl, who dying without Legitimate Children, this King and the ſeveral Dukes of *Holſtein Goddorp*, and *Holſtein Ploen*, were his Heirs.

Denmark is an ancient Kingdom, the preſent Prince being according to their account, the hundred and ſecond King of ſeveral Families, all or moſt Elected, and until the Year 1660. this King writ himſelf Elective of *Denmark*, and Hereditary only of *Norway*, and his other Dominions.

Whilſt this Crown was Elective they had a ſtanding Senate of the Gentry or Nobility (*Denmark* under that Government not allowing of any dignity beſide that of a Gentleman, ſave the Order of the Elephant, and what they had by Offices) without whom the King had not much Power, but in the late Wars between them and the *Swedes*, the laſt King having got the Command of an Army, and made himſelf Maſter of it, and the City of *Copenhagen*, took the opportunity ſoon after the Concluſion of the Peace with *Sweden*, to cauſe the Gates of the Town to be ſhut, into which he, the Senate, and moſt of the Nobility were retired; permitting who would to come in, but ſuffering none for eight days to go out. And then the 17. *Octob.* 1660. he perſwaded the

the Senate of the Kingdom, much againſt their wills, not only to deliver up to him the Inſtrument which was always in their keeping (called in Dutch a Handfeſte) which according to Law he had after his Election Signed, Sealed, and Sworn unto, as King Elect but alſo to abſolve him from his Oath, deveſting themſelves of their Power, and inveſting him with it, acknowledging him as their Hereditary and Abſolute King, for him and his Heirs for ever, from which time, he hath ever ſince writ himſelf Hereditary King of *Denmark*, and exerciſed a deſpotical Government, whereas before he writ but King Elect of *Denmark*, and Hereditary only of *Norway*. The next day being the 18. of *October*, he was with ſolemn Ceremony publickly upon a Theatre inſtalled, having then the Globe, Sword, Scepter, and Crown delivered to him by the Senate, who making vertue of neceſſity, ſaluted him by his new acquired Addition.

This alteration was with the more eaſe effected, becauſe the Cities, Commonalty, and Clergy having none of them any ſhare in the Government, either by themſelves or Repreſentatives, all Power and Authority being in the King, together with a ſtanding Senate of a few Gentlemen, who (from bearing hard, as the people thought, upon them) had in ſtraights little intereſt left beyond the Gates of their own Houſes, when by the misfortune of the War they were driven into *Copenhagen*, whither the King with his Army was retired, there remained little more for him to do in the caſe, than to let them know what he would have them to do, or upon refuſal, to tell them their doom; for the people reflecting (as in ſuch caſes they always do) upon their Go-

vernours,

vernours, as the cauſe of their miſery, were at firſt well pleaſed with the Change, as ſick men are with the change of Beds; but, as I have heard, it was not long before they repented the Mutation, finding ſoon a difference betwixt a Government at the will of one man ſolely (in oppoſition to which *Solomon* ſaith, *That in the multitude of Counſellors there is ſafety*) and in conjunction with others, whoſe Intereſt in a great meaſure was bound up with the good and proſperity of the Community: but however it was obtained, this preſent King being a perſon of more than ordinary moral Vertues, exerciſing his Power moderately and wiſely, he will without doubt, during his time, maintain this new Government; but ſhall the Crown at any time fall to a weak or diſſolute Prince, it is more than probable, that the Nobility will then remember their ancient Rights, and think it lawful to recover by Force what was by Force or Fraud taken from them; for as I am informed, though the King ſince he was Hereditary, hath aſſumed the Conferring Titles of Honour, as of Barons and Counts, *&c.* which they never before did, few or none of the ancient Gentry do accept of thoſe Dignities, as if they affected the old way of Government better than the new.

In this deſign the King had not one of the Nobility of the Country that joyned with him, nor was the Cabal more in number, beſide the King and Queen, than three, *(viz.) Monſieur Gabell* of mean Birth, but Chief Miniſter of State (who is by this King laid aſide) the Biſhop of *Copenhagen*, and the Mayor or Burgo-Maſter of the Town, not one of which was a Gentleman, or is yet made one,

one, or have had any Title conferred upon them, as hath been done to others ſince the making of the Crown Hereditary, ſaving that the Biſhop had the bare Title of Archbiſhop given him during his life, without any increaſe of Revenue or Juriſdiction, his Succeſſor having only the empty Title, as before, of Biſhop; and it is probable, (according to the Proverb) that though the King loved the Treaſon he hated the Traitors, not thinking them worthy to be ennobled, that had betrayed the Liberty of their Country, than which no crime can be more odious.

Anciently *Sweden* was eſteemed ſubordinate to *Denmark*, and was often under the Government of that Kingdom, but not being able to bear the Daniſh Yoke, they caſt it off, and making *Guſtavus Errikſon*, Grandfather to *Guſtavus Adolphus* (a private Nobleman) in the year 1528. King, they revolted from *Denmark*, and thereby entailed unto Poſterity an implacable Enmity betwixt the two Crowns, which having ſeveral times ſince broke out into War, and ended for the moſt part with advantage to the *Swedes*, they are now become Superiour to thoſe they were before in ſubordination unto, whereby the quarrel is made the more irreconcileable.

Formerly *Denmark*'s chief Intereſt (in reference to *Jutland* and *Holſtein*, which are contiguous to *Germany*, and the latter a Member of it) was to joyn with the Princes of the Empire, againſt any Incroachers upon their common Liberties, and it is ſtill the ſame with them; but beſide this; it is their Intereſt to be always upon their Guard towards *Sweden*, who have of late years aimed at the ſole Dominion of the Baltick, and will

will not fail to attempt it, when any probable opportunity and advantage is offered him; and as it is a true Maxim, That by the same way that any Prince acquires Dominion, by the same way he must keep it: So as the last King got by Force his absolute Power and Hereditary Title, this must by the same way preserve it, not thinking that the ancient Nobility, who have old roots of Liberty, can easily digest their being by violence (at their flying into *Copenhagen* in time of War for security) being forced thereunto by the Kings not protecting them) devested of their ancient Rights and Priviledges, derived to them from their Ancestors by many hundred of years; or that they will not think it lawful for them at any time, when it is in their power, to recover again by force, what was by such means taken from them; and therefore as from the last Kings Usurpation, perpetual jealousies are likely to be continued betwixt the Crown and the Nobility, so it will probably, at one time or other, give an advantage to the *Swede*.

And therefore it is further the Interest of this King, to hold a close League and Correspondence with the States of *Holland*, who can in his necessities come best by Sea to his relief, and who (as may be presumed) will never be backward in it, in that it is their Interest, as well to keep *Denmark* under an absolute Dominion (because such a Constitution will never admit of any great Improvement of Trade to the lessening of theirs) as it is to keep the balance betwixt the two Northern Kings, without suffering either of them to ingross the whole Baltick, from whence they have their Naval Commodities which they cannot be

be without; and that the States of *Holland* are ſenſible of this concern, they have given ſeveral teſtimonies in our time.

For when *Chriſtian* the Fourth King of *Denmark*, being inflated with his ſuppoſed ſtrength at Sea, did think in the year 1644. to have run down the *Swedes*, the *Hollanders* ſupplied them with twenty Ships, by whoſe help they gave the *Dane* ſuch an overthrow at Sea, as he hardly in a long time after recovered (if they have yet done it) and again, when the *Swedes* were lately ſo much Maſters of *Denmark*, that had not the *Dane* received aſſiſtance, the *Swedes* had in all probability carried their Kingdom, and within a ſhort time after all the Baltick; then *Holland* ſeaſonably ſent them in the year 1659. a very conſiderable aid, both by Sea and Land, by whoſe means, together with the interpoſition of the Long Parliament of *England* (which after his Majeſties Reſtauration was by him proſecuted) an equal Peace was made betwixt the two Kings, each being kept within tolerable limits: but the *Swedes* being thus prevented in ſwallowing up of *Denmark*, when they had ſaid in their hearts all was their own, they cannot yet remember it, without paſſion, though the States of *Holland* deſerve ſo little blame for it, that they merit (even from their Enemies) honour and applauſe, for not only ſo well underſtanding, but alſo for conſtantly and ſtoutly purſuing their true Intereſt, without which it were impoſſible for them to ſtand; for although a Monarchy may live (though poorly) when its Intereſt is not followed, a Republick can hardly ſubſiſt where it is miſſed; the nature of that Government being (from the impatience and mutinouſneſs

nouſneſs of the people) either to flouriſh or not to be at all.

There are ſome who do not only accuſe *Denmark* of miſſing their Intereſt in an unreaſonable inequality in the diſtribution of their Church-lands, allowing to thoſe they call Biſhops (though ſuch as have only a bare ſuperintendant Authority) Revenues exceeding in proportion the riches of the Nation, and to the reſt of the Miniſters a miſerable livelihood; but alſo in ſo doing of great impolicy, rendring it a prejudice to that Kingdom, wreſting the lowneſs of the Nation to the making good that Notion of no Biſhop no Poverty. But though I cannot deny the obſervation to be for the moſt part true, yet if the *Danes* be concerned in it, I muſt put the ſtreſs thereof (as to them) upon the Revenue rather than a Coercive Power tyrannically exerciſed, as in ſome other Countries to the obſtructing Trade and Induſtry; for they cannot be guilty in any thing of that nature, having no Juriſdiction left them.

And therefore, ſince the Reformers in *Denmark* have ſtripped their nominal Biſhops of all Power, Authority, and Preheminence, allowing them no more precedence than what is below the meaneſt Gentleman (which being in a Kingdom croſſeth that falſe Maxim of *No Biſhop, No King*) they cannot be concerned in this Proverb further than in an unequal diſtribution of their Church Revenues; but as the Notion had its riſe in time of Popery, ſo it reacheth only to Popiſh Biſhops, againſt whom the truth of it may indeed be made out by comparing the proſperity of Proteſtant Countries under Reformation to what they were before, as alſo amongſt Papiſts themſelves

themſelves the riches of thoſe leaſt under the Dominion of the Church, to thoſe moſt under it, as of *Venice* to other parts of *Italy*, *France* to *Spain*, and even in *France*, the Reformed to the Papiſts, as appears by the former having no common Beggers among them, though the latter are crowded with them.

And were the Revenue of the Biſhops (or rather Prolocutors of the Clergy) of this Country, where (as in ſome other Reformed Churches) there is not allowed any civil juriſdiction to their Eccleſiaſticks, ſo much againſt the Intereſt of *Denmark* as ſome will ſuggeſt, it cannot be thought but they who have formerly had a very wiſe Senate and great Stateſmen, would ere this have reformed the error, eſpecially ſince they as well as all other *Lutherans*, know that the Notion of Sacriledge in the Caſe, is a grand Popiſh Church Cheat, which they have a long time impoſed upon the World; for ſurely it is as lawful for Proteſtant Princes, in their own Dominions, to alienate Church Lands, without the Popes Conſent, as it is for Popiſh Princes to do it in their Territories, with his Approbation, as they have in all Ages and Countries frequently practiſed.

At the Treaty at *Munſter* in the Year 1648. four Biſhopricks (as is mentioned in the Intereſt of *Germany*) were made ſecular Principalities, and given to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as alſo a great ſhare of Church Lands to that Excellent Family (famous for vigorous and conſtant aſſerting of the Proteſtant Cauſe) the *Landgrave* of *Heſſen Caſſell*, in conſideration of their ſufferings in the late Wars in *Germany*, beſide the like Lands given to the Dukes of *Mechlenburgh*, in lieu

of what they parted with to the *Swede*, and all with the conſent of the Popes Legate, who was afterwards Pope *Alexander* the Seventh; but I inſtance not herein as thinking Popiſh practices always fit for Proteſtants imitation, but as a concurrent Argument in this Caſe, that if the Church of *Rome* hold it lawful with the Popes allowance to alienate Church Lands from the uſes they were given unto, it is much more lawful for Proteſtant Princes to alienate them from uſes they were not given unto.

For the Revenues of the Biſhops, *&c.* being anciently given to unmarried perſons in the nature of a truſt, for building and repairing of Churches, relief of the Poor, Sick, and Strangers, *&c.* and but one fourth part for themſelves for performing the Idolatrous Worſhip of their Religion, preſuming always that they being ſingle perſons, their devotion would lead them to make the Church their Heirs; if the Founders were now living to ſee their Donations enjoyed by Married perſons, no way anſwering the ends they were given unto, either in their worſhip, relieving of the Poor, doing charitable Works, or making the Church their Heirs, the Biſhops, *&c.* not having much to do, beſide auditing their accounts, moſt of their time being ſpent in contriving ways for raiſing Eſtates to leave to their Poſterities, it may with good reaſon be conceived, that they would not judge the reſuming ſuch Lands from *Lutherans* to be Sacriledge, but that the Mahometan Prieſts, were they in poſſeſſion of them, had as much right to them as thoſe they call Hereticks; and therefore ſince part of the Revenue which was intended for relieving of the Poor, and Charitable Works, *&c.* is not, and the

the reſt for performance of Popiſh Worſhip, cannot be applied to the uſes appointed, it is but reaſon, that in *Denmark*, they ſhould Eſcheat to the Magiſtrate, eſpecially being hinderances in the worſhip of God, the management of ſuch great Eſtates taking men off from their Miniſterial Duties.

And certainly, if any thing of this nature be Sacriledge, it is not meerly becauſe a ſort of men from whom Lands are taken, have had Epiſcopal hands laid upon them (when by the loſs of them they are no way hindred in the worſhip of God, in relation either to themſelves or others) but in taking them from ſuch, who by the want of them, are prevented in the diſcharge of their Duties incumbent upon them as Miniſters of the Goſpel.

As in the enjoyment of Pluralities, where one living deliciouſly, in plenty and idleneſs, doing nothing, hires others for cheapneſs, not ſufficient for the work, or if he be (as few hirelings are) gives him ſo little, that without neglecting his ſtudies and following other buſineſs, he cannot keep his Family from ſtarving, ſo that the perſons crying moſt out againſt the ſin of Sacriledge will be found upon a true enquiry, to be moſt guilty of it; for Church maintenance cannot rationally be thought to be tied ſimply to the perſon of a Miniſter, becauſe in Orders, but to him executing his Office, being qualified and able in the diſcharge of the Duty of a Miniſter. And for one in the Miniſtry doing nothing, to withhold from him that doth the work, the maintenance belonging to it; or for a Miniſter who out of covetouſneſs, that he may enjoy ſeveral livings

(eſpecially when one is of a ſufficient Revenue for his maintenance) deprives his Pariſhioners of one part of the Lords Day, in going from one place to another, ſeems in common ſenſe and reaſon, to be indiſputably ſinful, if not Sacrilegious; beſide that non reſidency hath ever been Condemned, (as well as medling in affairs of State) by all uncorrupt Councils.

And although I think ſuch a competent Proviſion for the Miniſters of the Goſpel, as they may comfortably live upon, bring up their Children, and in ſome meaſure provide for them, is *Jure divino*; yet I cannot do ſo of Princely Revenues, to a ſort of men that do nothing proportionable for them, but are rather by them taken off and hindred in the work of the Miniſtry, nor of pluralities held *in Commendam*.

Trade might be made the Intereſt of *Denmark*, the Country having convenient Ports, and capable of it, were it not that it is one of thoſe Countries where the Nobility or Gentry, undervaluing all Callings, do undervalue Trade; which principle, together with the jealouſy which may be rationally conceived will ever be betwixt the King and Nobility about Dominion, will always obſtruct the improving of it, to the keeping of the Country (to the end of the World) in a poor and low Condition. And as all this concerns *Denmark* only, ſo this is all I have to ſay at this time of the Intereſt of that Kingdom.

THE

THE INTEREST OF SWEDEN.

Sweden generally taken, with its Territories ancient and modern, gained from *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Russia*, contains *Sweden* properly so called, *Finland*, *Lapland*, *Scrivinia*, *Halland*, *Schonen*, *Gothland*, &c. these being divided from the Kingdom of *Norway* by great Mountains on the Westside, having *Muscovia* and the frozen Sea on the North, with the Baltick Sea on the South: but beside the main body, thus bounded and understood under the name of *Sweden* being all contiguous, this Crown hath several Islands in the Baltick or East Sea, and upon the Continent *Liefland*, with some other places anciently belonging to *Russia* and *Poland*, as also in *Germany*, the *Upper Pomerania*, with part of the Lower, and part of the Dutchy of *Mechlenburgh*, all divided from *Sweden* by the Baltick Sea, the several Bishopricks of *Bremen* and *Verden*, now erected into a secular principality, lying further into the Empire, on the Southside the River *Elbe*, which flows to *Hamburgh*.

Sweden thus considered makes a formidable Power, unto which they arrived not at once but

by degrees; *Guſtavus Errichſon* (Grandfather to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and Great Great Grandfather by the Female ſide of the preſent young King, and the firſt King of *Sweden* of this Family) laying the foundations of its riſe.

The conteſts that this Crown ſince his time hath had, have been with *Denmark*, *Ruſſia*, *Poland* and *Germany*, in all which they have been gainers; their differences with *Denmark* and *Poland* have riſen from the pretences that the Royal Lines of thoſe Kingdoms have had to the Crown of *Sweden*, with *Ruſſia* upon the common ſcore of Emulation (as generally falls out between bordering Neighbours) and with *Germany*, upon the account of the late oppreſſed Princes, to whoſe aſſiſtance they were called.

Sweden is a Kingdom that gives place to none for antiquity; it was anciently, and hath been for the moſt part Elective, but having unhappily been often under the Adminiſtration of bad Kings, it hath had many Changes in Government, having been ſometimes under Elective, other times Hereditary Kings, one while under Mareſhals or Governours, another while under the Kings of *Denmark*, and again Independant.

Magnus King of *Sweden* (ſurnamed *Smeck*) being depoſed, and the Duke of *Mechlenburgh* Crowned King in his ſtead, *Margarite* Queen of *Denmark*, Widdow to *Hacquine* (Son of *Magnus* who was depoſed) recovered *Sweden*, and in the Year 1387. united it to *Denmark* by an act of State for the perpetuity of the Union.

Margaret dying Childleſs, was ſucceeded in the three Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, by *Errich* Duke of *Pomerania*, one of her Nephews,

phews, recommended by her, but he being in a ſhort time after expelled all the Kingdoms for ill Government; *Sweden* divided from *Denmark*, and ſet up *Englebert* Elected out of the Nobility, after whom *Carolus Canutus* a private Nobleman was appointed Governour of *Sweden*, who out-living many troubles, and deſerving well of his Country, was in the Year 1450. Crowned King; but the Archbiſhop of *Upſal* and his Church Faction, taking advantage of his abſence whilſt at *Dantzigg*, ſeeking aid of *Poland* againſt the *Ruſche*, called in *Chriſtiern* the firſt King of *Denmark*, (and firſt King of his and this preſent Family of *Denmark*) and Crowned him King, but *Carolus* returning, he was reſtored, and *Chriſtiern* depoſed, who remained ſo until the Year 1470. that *Carolus* died; after which, *Chriſtiern* being again called in and Crowned, was a ſecond time for ill Government depoſed, and the Kingdom then Governed by *Steno Sture* (Nephew to *Carolus Canutus*) as Mareſhal, (he refuſing the Crown and to take the title of King) but whilſt he was imployed againſt the *Ruſche* who then infeſted the Kingdom, *John* King of *Denmark* Son of *Chriſtiern*, was by a Faction Crowned King, but ſoon after expelled by *Steno*, who dying in the Year 1503. in the thirteenth Year of his Government, *Suanto* one of the Nobility was choſen to ſucceed as Governour or Mareſhal, who all his life oppoſed *Chriſtiern* the Second King of *Denmark*, Son of *John*, but dying in the eighth Year of his Government, was ſucceeded by *Steno Sture* his Son, who though valiantly oppoſing the ſaid *Chriſtiern*, yet being ſlain in Battle, and the *Swedes* by his fall diſcomfited, *Chriſtiern* was received and Crowned King,

but for his Cruelty and ill Government, was in the Year 1520. expelled, and *Guſtavus Errichſon*, a Gentleman of a noble Family (and as ſome ſay deſcended (though very remotely) from the race of the ancient Kings of *Sweden*) was in the Year 1523. Elected King, and Crowned in the Year 1528. And thus from *Margaret* of *Denmark*, annexing the Crown of *Sweden* unto *Denmark*, and from *Chriſtiern* the firſt, *John* Son of *Chriſtiern*, and *Chriſtiern* the ſecond Son of *John* King of *Denmark*, and all ſucceſſively Crowned Kings of *Sweden* (although ſome of the *Swedes* Writers omit them in the Catalogue of their Kings as Uſurpers, admitting the three Governours, who contended with them as their lawful Magiſtrates) proceeded the pretences of the *Dane*, to the Crown of *Sweden*.

Guſtavus Errichſon entailed the Crown in the Year 1540. upon the Heirs Male of his Body, he reigned well thirty eight Years, and was all that time to his people (who had been ſo reſtleſs before) the joy and delight of their hearts, and is ſtill remembred by them with great honour and affection, as all Princes will be that govern juſtly, according to *Salus Populi ſuprema lex*, which is the *Motto* of King *James*'s Scotch Gold, in 1602. and 1603. when he came to the Crown of *England* (as for one inſtance, the ſtrange affection that the *Lorrainers* bear to their natural Prince (though out of poſſeſſion) from a grateful remembrance of his Anceſtors lenity and juſtice in Government (compared with their new Maſters) do witneſs.) For the people being naturally baſhful, modeſt, and reſpectful towards their ſuperiours, loving reſt and quietneſs above

all

all things, have a reverence for their Magiſtrates (whilſt they do them no manifeſt wrong) almoſt to adoration; but if their ſuperiours make uſe of their authority to injure and oppreſs them, then as they are Maſters of ſenſe (though happily void of much reaſon) feeling themſelves trod upon, we find like Worms they are apt to turn again, caſting all Laws againſt righting themſelves behind their backs, flying as they think to the natural right of ſelf preſervation, as few Countries, but in one Age or other have done.

And ſuch hath been the Caſe of *Sweden*, where they have a Maxim, that nothing but Vertue, and Heroick actions are worthy of a Crown. For their mutations have not proceeded from any natural unquiet temper in the people, but always from the oppreſſion and ill Government of their Governours, who were as is probable, tempted thereunto, by the advantage they had in the authority and dignity of their perſons and places, of laying their own faults upon the provoked and injured people; for as the *Swedes* have been reſtleſs under tyrannical and unjuſt Princes, ſo no people have ever been more obedient to good and vertuous Kings than by Hiſtory they ſeem to have been, and were not *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* to be excepted, all ſtory would hardly afford us one inſtance, where Male Adminiſtration hath not been the Cauſe of the Rebellion that hath ever hapned in any Country.

Fowlers Hiſtory of the troubles between *Sweden* and *Poland*.

And King *James* in his advice to his Son, agrees thus far with this Notion, that he counſels him in reference to his Lords, in theſe words, (viz.) *Teach your Nobility to keep your Laws as preciſely*

preciſely as the meaneſt, fear not their orping or being diſcontented as long as you rule well, for their pretended reformation of Princes never takes effect but where evil Government preceedeth, (Page 162.)

And that the people do not regard under what Form of Government they live, provided that the end of it (the good of the Community) be but purſued, that ſo they may be juſtly and honeſtly dealt with, which is all they look after, appears by the Cities in *Holland*, where the Citizens do contentedly acquieſce in an Oligarchical Adminiſtration, (the worſt of Forms) becauſe ſatisfied that they are not couſened nor cheated; for otherwiſe they who revolted from the King of *Spain*, upon their paying much leſs than they now do, (even their riches then and now conſidered) would not probably bear a greater burthen (as they have long done) without ever riſing up againſt it.

Guſtavus Errichſon left three Sons, *Errich*, *John*, and *Charles*, who all ſucceſſively came to the Crown of *Sweden*, but the firſt who came to it in the Year 1561. was (for miſ-Government and Marrying diſgracefully) depoſed, and his Brother *John* (in the Year 1569.) ſet up and Crowned King in his ſtead, who inheriting his Fathers Vertues, died in the Year 1592. lamented and beloved of all his people, leaving two Sons, *Sigiſmundus* and *John* behind him. The firſt was in his Fathers Life time choſen King of *Poland*, being Crowned in the Year 1580. and after his Fathers Deceaſe was likewiſe Crowned King of *Sweden*, but having been ſecretly bred by his Mother (who was a Papiſt) in her Religion (contrary to the knowledge of his Father, who was a great Enemy

to

to Popery) and having declared the ſame at his acceſſion to the Crown of *Poland*, the States of *Sweden* received, and Crowned him King, upon condition of maintaining their then received Religion (which was as it ſtill is the *Lutheran* perſwaſion) without any way endeavouring the introducing of Popery; which he in no kind obſerving, but on the contrary, ſo ſoon as on his Throne, Erecting Popiſh Churches, placing Popiſh Governours in his Caſtles and Forts, ſtriving to bring in the Romiſh Religion, they accuſing him of breach of Faith, and miſchievous practices againſt the Kingdom, contrary to the end of Government, and Duty of his place, depoſed him, yet with offer of chuſing his Son *Uladiſlaus* (a Child) provided they might have the breeding of him in their own Belief, which he refuſing (after ſome Years ſpent in Treaties, and other endeavours for accommodation, all in vain) the States of the Kingdom in the Year 1607. choſe, and Crowned his Uncle *Charles* (the third Son of his Grandfather *Guſtavus Errichſon*) their King, and making a ſecond Entail, Entailed the Crown upon his Heirs Male, and in Caſe of failure thereof, upon Duke *John*, younger Brother to the King of *Poland*, and his Heirs Male, he being a *Lutheran*, and living in *Sweden*, who had before the Election of his Uncle *Charles*, made a ſolemn Reſignation of his Right to the Crown.

This King *Charles* being zealous in his Religion, and though a *Lutheran*, a Friend and favourer of *Calviniſm*, did readily agree with the Eſtates of the Kingdom, in making ſeveral Laws for ſecuring their Liberties and Religion, and among the reſt, one againſt the Heirs of the Crown Marrying Po-

piſh

piſh Wives, another againſt the Succeſſion of any Papiſt Prince to the Crown, and a third againſt their Prince accepting of any Foreign Crown, otherwiſe than upon condition of living in *Sweden*, &c. and from hence the *Poles* pretence to the Kingdom of *Sweden* ariſing, great Wars betwixt them enſued, wherein *Charles* maintaining his Election ſucceſsfully, and *Guſtavus Adolphus* inheriting his Fathers Gallantry, doing the like, the *Swedes* in the Year 1629. obtained an advantageous Peace or Truce for ſix Years, in which time they proſpered ſo much, that at the expiration of that term, the *Pole* was eaſily perſwaded to continue the Truce for ſix and twenty Years longer, which term was not expired, when *Charles Guſtavus* the laſt King of *Sweden*, and Father to this preſent King, being weary of Peace fell upon *Poland*, where he prevailed exceedingly, until *Denmark* (who muſt always be jealous of the greatneſs of *Sweden*) taking the advantage of the Kings ingagement in *Poland*, ſerving him as he had done the *Pole*, fell in 1655. upon him in time of Peace, neceſſitating him thereby to make Peace with the *Pole* upon equal terms, which Peace continued until *Caſimire* King of *Poland* (having no Heirs) put a period to that Crowns pretence to the Crown of *Sweden*, by reſigning his Crown into the hands of the Eſtates of *Poland*, and withdrawing himſelf into a Monaſtery where he lately ended his days, and being the laſt of the Kings of *Poland* of the *Swediſh* Race, hath ended the Title of thoſe Kings to the Crown of *Sweden*, which though (as is probable) will much abate the heats and animoſities betwixt the two Crowns, yet it cannot but be

First,

Firſt, The Intereſt of *Sweden* to be as well jealous of the *Pole*, as of the *Ruſſe*, they enjoying at preſent ſeveral places anciently belonging to both Countries, and at all times oppoſe the *Muſcoviters* acceſs to the Crown of *Poland*, leſt otherwiſe he ſhould become too great for them, who in ſuch Caſe would not want pretences againſt *Sweden*, upon the account of what they poſſeſs belonging to both Crowns of *Ruſſia* and *Poland*.

Secondly, The differences that have been, and emulation that is betwixt the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, ariſing originally from the revolt of the firſt from under the Dominion of the latter, and ſetting up a King of their own, which cauſed many breaches and Wars betwixt them, wherein the *Swedes* having always reaped great advantage and profit, and the *Dane* ſuſtained as great loſs, their differences and animoſities being thereby further increaſed and continued; It is likewiſe the Intereſt of *Sweden* to be jealous of *Denmark*, not truſting too far to Treaties of Peace with a reconciled Enemy (who always keeps agreements more from conſideration of Intereſt than Faith) but be continually upon their Guard towards them.

Thirdly, The *Swede* being become a Prince of the Empire (beſides what he may claim by deſcent) in the poſſeſſing thoſe Countries given him in *Germany* by the general Treaty of Peace at *Munſter*, as a reward for their good ſervice, in coming to the relief of the oppreſſed Princes, when unjuſtly uſed by the Emperour, it muſt be his Intereſt to oppoſe all incroachments from abroad or at home, upon the *German* Liberties, holding a good correſpondence with thoſe Princes and

and the Empire, in being always true to the Intereſt of the whole, leſt otherwiſe they draw the envy of the Nation upon them (Foreigners in all Countries being ordinarily (even without cauſe, and much more upon any miſcarriage) hated by the Natives) and provoke a Confederacy for driving them out of *Germany*, which would not only be a vaſt loſs unto them, in loſing what they now poſſeſs, but more in the Friendſhip of that Nation, from whence they have the moſt of their recruits, the benefit of which they cannot loſe, without being rendred inſignificant among conſiderable Potentates, their own Country, though very large, being from the barrenneſs of it too thin of people, to do any great matters in the World by; and they ought to conſider, that when ſo mighty a Country as *Germany* ſhall combine againſt them, their expulſion will be the leſs difficult, in that Croſſing of the Seas, where wind and weather muſt be waited for, will be of great diſadvantage to them, in the maintaining of their Intereſt in a Foreign Land.

And in order to the obliging of *Germany*, and their other Neighbours, it is further their Intereſt, to be true to the triple League, made againſt *France*, in that the *French* King is at preſent the only Potentate to be feared, for deſigning the Univerſal Monarchy. And therefore as this King is a party to that League, ſo it is his Intereſt to be conſtant to it, for keeping the *French* at home, and within bounds; for ſhould the *French* prevail (in his more than ſuſpected deſign) although ſome petty Princes whom he may think fit to make uſe of, may peradventure be in little worſe, if not in better condition by his acquiſts than before, yet no

no King, nor conſiderable Prince, but by his Conqueſts muſt be reduced, and rendred of much leſs conſideration (if ſuffered to ſignifie any thing) than they now are.

Trade might be made the Intereſt of *Sweden*, that Country affording ſome of the uſefulleſt, and moſt neceſſary Commodities, as Copper, Iron, Pitch, and Tar, *&c.* if after the mode of thoſe Northern Countries, which undervalue all Callings, they did not undervalue Traders, and that War, the Enemy to Trade, were not become ſo natural to them, that they cannot live contentedly in Peace, and that their Nobility and Military Officers did not affect a ſtate, and manner of living above their Revenues, a habit they have got by the War, which forceth them to ſeek additions by military ſervice abroad, and to that end, to improve all opportunities for War, which neceſſitating the King to burthen Trade with exceſſive Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, renders them altogether uncapable of any great increaſe in Trade, and the ſeeming deſire of the Senate of that Kingdom, for the promoting of it, to be fruitleſs and ineffectual; and upon conſideration of theſe unpeaceable Circumſtances, they may be obſerved to be the more unfit for Mediators in matters of Peace and War, and thus much for *Sweden*.

THE

THE INTEREST OF POLAND.

Poland is incompaſſed with *Germany*, the *Baltick* Sea, *Ruſſia*, *Tartaria*, the *Carpathian* Mountains dividing it from *Hungaria*, and *Wallachia*. It is an aggregated body conſiſting of many conſiderable Provinces, United into one Eſtate under the name of *Poland*, that Province denominating the whole by way of eminency, and ſo named from the word *Pole*, which in their Language ſignifieth plain, becauſe it is much without Hills, and moſt of it a level Country.

This Kingdom taken generally is very large, reckoned two thouſand ſix hundred Miles in compaſs, under an Elective King, who alone without the Council of the Kingdom, hath ſo little Power, that Writers compare him to the Prince of a Senate, and the Government to an ill digeſted Ariſtocracy.

This Country affords ſtaple Commodities enough to make it flouriſh, as great quantity of all ſorts of Grain, Hemp, Flax, Tar, Pitch, Iron, Copper, Lead, Clapboards for Wainſcot, Deals, Salt, Hony, Wax, variety of Furs, *&c.* But the two Orders of the Kingdom, the Biſhops, *&c.* and the

the Nobility (under which title is underſtood the Gentry as well as the Lords) diſcouraging Trade by keeping all under them in a ſlaviſh condition, rendering them thereby uncapable of it in any conſiderable meaſure, cauſeth Poverty in a Land, which of it ſelf is rich and good, and proper for Commerce.

As this Country conſiſts of ſeveral large Provinces, ſo they are ſubdivided into ſeveral Diviſions or Circles, called *Palatinates*, each with a Governour called a Palatine, who have Lieutenants called Chaſtelains, but neither of theſe Officers are capable of ſuch Offices in any Country, but where they have ſome Intereſt by Lands of Inheritance in the Country; and becauſe the Nobility of this Kingdom are very numerous, when neceſſity requires the making of a new Law, every Palatine calls together all the Nobility of his Precinct to ſome certain place, where having acquainted them with what is to be treated of, they chuſe from among themſelves ſuch a number of perſons as they think fit to repreſent them, which they call Nuncioes or Meſſengers, to meet and join with the like from the other Provinces at the place appointed by the King, where they make a diſtinct body or order, who though leſs in Dignity than the Senate, yet equal to them in authority, and are a ballance to the Senators, controuling of them, if from the bounty and temptations of the King, they ſhould prove corrupted or byaſſed, to the endangering of their liberties, which this order doth ſolely aim at preſerving, with regard only to publick good; for though every Lord or Gentleman is abſolute over his own Tenants or Peaſants, who have no immunities

but meer Slaves, yet none can be more jealous of priviledges than they are of their own, ſo unequal is the corrupt and ambitious nature of man, if not reſtrained by Laws.

The Religion of this Country is that of *Rome*, with a toleration to all others, as Lutherans, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, *&c.* from whence it was ſaid of them before it was of *Amſterdam*, that if one had loſt his Religion he might find it in *Poland*. And this is all the incouragement the trading Towns have, and were it otherwiſe, and that men were perſecuted for Religion, that little Trade they have would ſoon fall to nothing, and ſo reduce the Nobility, who (from the ſlavery of their Peaſants) are already low enough, to yet more poverty and want.

The King takes an Oath to reign according to the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, to maintain the rights and priviledges of every order, and not to diminiſh the revenue and limits of the Realm, with a Clauſe in his Oath, amounting to the abſolving of the people from their obedience in caſe he ſhould govern otherwiſe; and upon theſe conditions the Senate promiſeth obedience, whoſe advice and conſent the King muſt have in making War or Peace, leavying Subſidies or Taxes, alienating any of his Lands, or doing any thing of importance that belongs to the Common-Wealth. Inſomuch, that it is ſaid of him, that his Power and Authority is more or leſs according to his Policy or Wit.

This Kingdom is ſeldom in Peace, being almoſt continually under the exerciſe of War, either from *Sweden*, *Muſcovia*, *Tartary*, *Turky*, or the *Coſſacks*, the two firſt and they, having pretences one

one upon the other, the third and fourth moved by ambition, and the laſt a ſort of ſturdy people, who belong to the Kingdom but rebel againſt their King; ſo that *Poland* being frequently neceſſitated to War, it is their Intereſt, and indiſpenſibly neceſſary for them, to have in their Election of a King, an eye chiefly to a Souldier, who may by his wiſe and good Conduct, the better defend them againſt their Enemies, avoiding nevertheleſs the Emperour or one of the *French* Faction, leſt ſuch a one ſhould indanger the loſs of their Liberties.

Secondly, It is their Intereſt to hold a good Correſpondence with the *German* Princes, who can never prejudice them, and may in their neceſſities give them relief, their Country not only joining upon them, but alſo concerned in Intereſt to ſupport them, leſt otherwiſe the *Muſcoviters*, *Turks*, or *Tartars*, prevailing againſt *Poland*, ſhould afterwards viſit them in *Germany*.

And now that *Denmark* and *Sweden*, by their particular animoſities againſt each other, with other Circumſtances, are obſtructed in Trade; that *Italy* and *Spain* have no genius for it; that the multitude of Soveraignties in *Germany*, laying ſo many Tolls upon their Rivers and Paſſes by Land, as is a great impediment to it in that Country; and that *Poland* by its Conſtitution and Cuſtoms, is wholly uncapable of it, are all much for the benefit of the Trading parts of *Europe*; and thoſe Countries who making the moſt uſe of theſe advantages, ſhall moſt incourage Trade and Traders, will reap the moſt profit by their prudence, whilſt others ſhall ſuffer by their folly in neglecting Commerce. And let no man call Trading

ding a debaſement of Gentility (as the politick Author of the State of *England* doth) ſince it is that without which no Country can be great, or defend themſelves againſt ſuch potent Neighbours at Sea as *England* hath. Since the wiſeſt of Nations account it honourable, as the *Venetians*, and *Italians*; beſide, that the *French* King finding it rational to make it ſo, hath lately declared the exerciſe of Commerce in a Gentleman to be no prejudice to his Quality; and that the Examples that are againſt it, are from Countries who eſteem the Miniſtry, Phyſick, Law (the laſt the Profeſſion of our Politician) Court imployments (ſave ſome of the higheſt Offices) and all Callings, except Military, a debaſement of Gentility, as well as Trade, and that in *England* (eſpecially) no perſon can be an Enemy to Traffick, but he that either ignorantly is ſo, or Monſter like, deſires to impoveriſh and inſlave his own Country, and render it a prey to its powerful Neighbours and Enemies. And thus I have done with *Poland*.

A DISCOURSE UPON THE *Original*, the *growth*, and *decay* OF THE Reformed Party IN FRANCE.

OF all the Countries in Christendom, none hath been so much the Stage of action upon the single score of Religion, as that of *France*, the Reformed there, having since the mystery of iniquity came to its height, been almost in continual exercise of opposition to it, either in way of patient Martyrdom, or Military defence, against the barbarous Massacres, clandestinely plotted and contrived against them, by the bloody and faithless Church of *Rome*.

About the Year 1160. when that Monstrous Doctrine of Transubstantiation first received its Birth, there was at *Lyons* in *France*, a dissolute

young Merchant called *Waldo* (from whence his Followers after his name were called *Waldenſes*) who being brought to repentance, by the means of a ſignal Judgment, executed (by Heaven) in his preſence upon one of his Companions (who was remarkably ſtruck dead at a time of their debauch) falling to the ſtudy of the Scripture, became a publick oppoſer of the new Monſter, wherein he was ſo ſucceſsful in adherents, that the then Pope *Alexander* the Third thought him and them worth the trouble of his Anathematizing, and chaſing from *Lyons* into *Dauphinée* and *Provence*, where this Seed increaſed ſo exceedingly in a ſmall time, that reaching *Picardy*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, it over-run thoſe Countries to that degree, that King *Philip Auguſtus* of *France*, to prevent its growth, is ſaid to have razed three hundred Gentlemens Seats, deſtroyed ſome Walled Cities, and burnt a great number of others in *Picardy*, and *Germany*.

Theſe Diſciples were about the ſame time perſecuted by the Biſhops of *Mentz* and *Strasburgh*, who burnt them not ſingly but by heaps, the ſtory of thoſe times reporting fourſcore to have been burnt together in one Fire, vainly hoping by ſuch Cruelty to deſtroy them all ſuddenly. But notwithſtanding the continuance of the like Perſecutions, the Lord (who reigneth) ordered all for the good of his Church, making the blood of the Saints the Seed thereof, preſerving the truth ſo far from being thereby extinguiſhed, that it over-ſpread a great part of *Europe*, multiplying ſo abundantly, that in leſs than an hundred Years from *Waldo*, there were found (as *Perin Lyonois* affirms) in *Paſſaw* alone (a ſmall Biſhoprick in *Germany*) fourſcore

fourſcore thouſand of that belief, whoſe Perſecutors not thinking Death ſufficient, but (according to the practice of the Church of *Rome*) loading them with falſe reproaches after they were gone, it moved their Survivors, for their vindication, to publiſh the Articles of their Faith, and grounds of their ſeparation from the Popiſh Church, dedicating of them to the King of *France*.

A multitude of theſe Barbariſms, and the Tranſactions of thoſe times, came to light, partly by the quarrels amongſt the Papiſts themſelves, and partly by the taking of *Montbrun* in the Year 1585. by *Ledigers* the *French* General, who being then a Proteſtant, ſaved the Records and Writings, found in that place, of the perſecuting times, from the Fire, when the Monks had deſigned to have burnt them, becauſe by them, appeared not only the Cruelties practiſed upon the Martyrs, but alſo their pious Lives and Doctrine to be the ſame with the Reformed at this Day, even ſome of their Enemies having in thoſe times honoured their Memories with Diſcourſes of their holy Converſation and Principles.

Thoſe of the ſeparation from *Rome* in the Province of *Albigoiſe* (a ſmall County in *Languedock* in *France*, from whence comes the name of *Albigenſes*) in the Year 1200. ſtood upon their defence, the Cities of *Tholouſe*, *Montaban*, and many others joining with them, having the publick aſſiſtance of *Arragon*, and of many great and private perſons in *England*, which cauſed Pope *Innocent* the Third, in the Year 1206. to order a diſpute upon the Canon of the Meſs at *Montereau*, where *Arnold Hott* maintained the *Albigenſes*, againſt a Biſhop in behalf of the Pope; but his

Legates (two other Biſhops) being Moderators, it produced nothing but perſecution by that great Perſecutor King *Philip Auguſtus*, who making War againſt them, forced their flight into *Bohemia*, *Savoy*, and other places; ſome being reported to have fled into *England*, where the Church party in thoſe times prevailing, they were ill treated.

The Doctrine of *Waldo* was in the fourteenth Age illuſtrated by *Wickliff* an Engliſh man, from whom the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen of that Nation are ſaid to have received it, the conſtant ſufferings of the Martyrs giving life to it, and being the Meſſengers of it through all Chriſtendom.

About a hundred Years after him, riſe up *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, to be eminent Witneſſes to the truth, who upon the Emperours Summons, and his ſafe Conduct, appearing at the Council of *Conſtance*, were contrary to Faith Impriſoned, and after ſome time, to the greater breach of Faith, brought to the Stake, where their comfortable ſufferings were the means of the Converſion of many in *Italy* and *Germany*.

This perfidy in the Emperour (which was endeavoured to be juſtified by the Council of *Conſtance*, then ſitting) provoked *Ziſca* to make War againſt him with forty thouſand men, whoſe ſucceſs was ſo eminent and miraculous, that he that is but a little verſed in Hiſtory cannot be ignorant of it; In the Year 1488. the Count of *Varux* the *French* Kings Lieutenant, went into the *Vallieſes*, whither many of the *Albigenſes*, with their Wives and Children, were fled for ſafety, and to make ſhort work with them, he put fire to the mouths of the Caves, where the poor Chriſtians were ſtifled

fled to the number of three thousand of them, of which there were found four hundred Infants, perished in their Cradles, and the Arms of their dead Mothers; at this time the Pope following his opposers into all Countries, with his fulminations and out-cries, they carried grievous persecution along with them into *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, *Austria*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, and *Calabria*, &c. but the Lord turned all still to the increasing the number of Believers.

About a hundred Years after *Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, *Luther* begun his work, whose boldness bringing the *Germans* from the fire to the Sword, produced a great reformation in that Country, as the History of those times and places do shew. Not long after him, and in his time, rise several eminent Lights in the Church, as *John Calvin* at *Geneve*, *Melanchton* and *Zwinglius* at *Zurick*, *Oecolampadius* at *Bassell*, *Haller* at *Bearn*, and *Capito* at *Strasburgh*, &c. every one of which have left the Reformation of their several places, as Monuments of their Vertues and Piety.

The *Albigenses* which fled into the Duke of *Savoy*'s Country, inhabited in two small Cities, and some Villages in the Vallies of *Piemont*, without Persecution, until the Year 1556. their Belief being near the same with the Peasants of that Country, who had not in the memory of man, known any thing of the Ceremonies of *Rome*, though Neighbours to it, as *Perrin Lyonois* reports, but in this Year the Duke being instigated by the Monks of *Pignorolo*, condemned the poor Christians of his Vallies to the flames, and gave them in Pillage to the Neighbouring Garrisons, who to the number of four hundred, coming upon

on them in the night, finding them all fled, except a few, who being reſolved to ſuffer, were upon their Knees at Prayers, the Souldiers were ſo aſtoniſhed at that pious ſight, that they fled in ſuch a dreadful manner and haſte, that many loſt their Lives in endeavouring to paſs a Rivolet; the Monks alſo in fear quitting their Convent, but were by the Reformed Miniſters (more from Charity and good nature, than deſert in them) ſaved from plundering.

The Duke taking this as an affront ſent his Army againſt them, which was likewiſe put to flight, the General acknowledging his men to be ſtruck with an amazement and terror; after which, the Duke treated with them, and by fair words brought them to rely upon the promiſes of a Prince, as that which was ſacred and inviolable, but the poor credulous Chriſtians had no ſooner performed their promiſe (according to the Principles of their Religion) and laid down their Arms, rendring their Garriſons to him, and themſelves at his mercy; than (ſetting aſide all conſideration of the Faith of a Prince) all Agreements made with them were broke, and the Souldiers made their Judges and Executioners, who ſtrove to gratifie their Prince, in excelling each other in exquiſite Torments, by which means, they preſumed either to have driven them out of the Country, or forced them to the renouncing of their Belief; but this Cruelty had a contrary effect, ſtirring up in the reſidue that was left, ſuch a miraculous reſolution and Courage, that afterward they brought their Enemies to eight or nine ſeveral Agreements, which were all as oft faithleſly broken, until at laſt the Dutcheſs being moved

moved with pity, and ſome liking of their Religion, wrought the Duke to agree with them, and in the Year 1561. to give them an abſolute Law for the Liberty of their Conſcience.

In theſe times, the Reformed in *France* were not without their exerciſe, under Perſecution and Maſſacres, there having been great Cruelty practiſed in that way in *Provence*, in the Year 1545. in the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt, but this oppreſſion was more or leſs, according to the diſpoſition and temper of their Princes; *Henry* the Second, in the Year 1549. deſiring to hear ſome of the Condemned Martyrs Diſcourſe, had a perſon brought to him, whom they picked out, as eſteeming him one of the weakeſt, but proving able to baffle the Biſhop of *Caſtilon*, the King would ſee him die, who at his Execution, the King obſerving him from a Window where he ſtood, to turn his Face towards him, was ſo affrightned, that with an Oath he ſaid, He would come no more to ſuch ſights.

The ordinary Courts of Juſtice being now glutted with Executions, and ſeveral Members converted by the Pleading of the Martyrs, the King Ordered in the Year 1550. the holding of a Mercurial, a Court of Juſtice invented by *Louis* the Twelfth, conſtituted of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and many other Grandees; this Court was called to the end to ſend the Reformed as faſt to the Shambles, as they ſhould be brought before them, not doubting but ſuch a Conſtitution would purſue the deſign; but inſtead of doing it, many of themſelves receiving Conviction from the defences of the Priſoners, ſome becoming Delinquents were arreſted, whilſt others being more

more nimble to ſave themſelves took flight: and thus the Lord by contrary means increaſed the number, and Intereſt of the Reformed, and in a ſhort time after, rendred them ſo conſiderable, as to be able to defend themſelves againſt bloody Maſſacres and Torments.

This King enjoyed not long his delight in this Courſe, being in the Year 1559. accidentally ſlain in a tilting by the Count of *Mongomary* (a *French* Proteſtant that bears that Title in *France*) who when he had received his wound, which he out-lived but a ſmall time, turning towards the *Baſtile* (the great Priſon in *Paris*) and pointing to it, acknowledged the juſt Judgment of God upon him, for afflicting the honeſt people that were in it, which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* hearing, denied, and with an Oath ſaid, *the Devil dictated the words.*

Francis the Second ſucceeding (being ſixteen Years of Age) his Father *Henry* the Second, the *Guiſes* taking the advantage of his Minority, dated from the beginning of his Reign, their deſign for Uſurpation of the Crown, and as a popular way to attain thereunto, pretended great zeal for the National Religion (which was as it ſtill is that of *Rome*) and violence againſt the Reformed, which ſetting the wits of Scholars and Statiſts at work; ſome writing for Religion, and others for the State, and one a Treatiſe called, a Defence againſt Tyrants, ſhewing for what Cauſes, and by what means a people might take up Arms, thoſe who were driven by neceſſity (finding the Duke of *Guiſe*, although Hypocritically pretending their Friend, yet ſecretly deſigning their deſtruction) were eaſily perſwaded to ſtand upon

upon their defence, and take the King of *Navar* for their Head, he being then of the Reformed Religion, the first Prince of the Blood, and in right of his Queen, King of *Navar*; but it was not long before they declined him, casting their Eyes upon his Brother *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, as in many respects the more fit person.

The Prince of *Conde* accepted of their Election of him for their General, immediately hiding himself, and acting under another name. The place of Conference, for laying down their General *Thesis*, was at *Aubon*, in the Land of *Vaux*, the regulation of the Execution being at *Nantes*, where the Parliament for *Britaigne* resided. Things were managed with so strange a secrecy, considering the number privy to the design, and the distance of their Correspondence, that the discovery of the Plot came first out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and that but the day before it was to be put in Execution; many suffered Death for this design, but so satisfiedly, that their party was much increased by it.

This caused the calling an Assembly of the Nobles, to meet at *Fountainbleau*, under the name of the little Assembly of Estates; to this Assembly the great Admiral *Coligny*, so much famed for wisdom, presented a request in behalf of the Reformed, which he said he could have had signed by fifty thousand men, who aimed (beside the liberty of Conscience) at nothing but securing the Crown to the Princes of the Blood; The Constable *Monmorency*, the Chancellor, and many others, made Speeches full of Moderation, but the *Guises* opposed throughout those of the Religion, as knowing they would be the greatest obstruct-

obſtructers of their deſign for Uſurpation of the Crown.

The King of *Navar*, and his Brother the Prince of *Conde*, abſented, as not daring to truſt themſelves at Court (though all means poſſible was uſed to bring them thither) until the Cardinal of *Burbon* their Brother, having firſt received the Oaths of the King and Queen for their liberty and ſecurity, brought them to it, where they no ſooner arrived, than ſetting all Oaths and ingagements aſide, they were clapped up cloſe Priſoners, and endeavours made of proceeding againſt them as Traytors; but finding it difficult to do it legally againſt Princes of the blood, and not willing to make too groſs a breach upon their priviledges, it was concluded to ſend for the King of *Navar* to the King, with deſign that upon not giving ſatisfactory anſwers to his demands, exceptions ſhould be taken at his uncivil and undutiful carriage to the King, and ſo in rage and fury he ſhould be fallen upon and murthered, in which action the Duke of *Guiſe* was to have been the firſt, but his Majeſty being moved with pity, not ſuffering (nor giving the ſign for) Execution, the King of *Navar* eſcaped, though the *French* King did not *Guiſes* Cenſure of being a Poltrone Prince for it, nor yet did the Prince of *Conde* (the King of *Navars* Brother) ſo eſcape his malice, but that he afterwards wrought (though illegally) his Condemnation to die, earneſtly endeavouring preſent Execution, and deſigned the like againſt the King of *Navar*, and had probably obtained the Murther of both, though Princes of the blood, and one a King, had not the Death of *Francis* the Second, leaving his Brother *Charles* the Ninth in his

his Minority prevented it, the Council adviſing the Queen Mother who was then Regent, not to ſuffer them to die, leſt thereby ſhe made the *Guiſes* her Maſters, which conſideration did not only ſave both their lives, but ſet them at liberty, and made the King of *Navar* Lieutenant General of the Kingdom,

Upon the Death of this King *Francis* the Second, they ſent home the Queen of *Scots* (who was his Widow) to begin the troubles in that Country. Now the *Guiſes* to ingroſs credit to themſelves, and advance their own deſigns by blemiſhing of others, and pretending a zealous affection for the deceaſed King, gave out (contrary to the opinions of the Phyſicians) that he was poyſoned, cauſing Libels to be caſt abroad, bringing even the Queen under ſuſpicion, but Fathered it more plainly upon the Proteſtants, on purpoſe to render them odious.

This Change cauſed the calling of an Aſſembly at *Poiſie*, where *Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and many others of the Reformed appeared, and where the firſt making a Diſcourſe upon the point of Tranſubſtantiation, in the preſence of the Queen and Cardinal of *Lorrain*, he is ſaid to have convinced the latter; and where at another time, clearing it in a long Harangue to the Aſſembly, that it was not the Proteſtants that cauſed the troubles in *France*, but the Corruptions of *Rome*, (though he thereby vexed the Eccleſiaſticks, yet in the end) he brought them to conclude with him, upon this following Article concerning the Sacrament.

We confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt pre- *D'Aubignis Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of France.*

ſented

ſented to us in the Holy Supper, gives and exhibits truly the ſubſtance of his Body and Blood, by the operation of his Holy Spirit, and that we receive and eat Sacramentally and by Faith, the ſame Body that died for us, to be bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh, to the end to be quickned, and to deſerve all that is requiſite to our Salvation; that Faith ſupported by the word of God, renders things promiſed as preſent, and that by the ſame Faith, we receive truly and certainly, the true and natural body of our Lord, by the vertue of his holy Spirit, and in this manner, we confeſs the preſence of the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour in the Holy Supper.

The Cardinal finding this Article to pleaſe the Aſſembly, and being alſo conformable to his own belief, conſented to it, to the great rejoicing of the Queen, and all the Princes, but many of the Doctors bandying againſt it, they framed another as followeth.

We believe and confeſs, that in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the true Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, is really and ſubſtantially under the kinds of Bread and Wine, by the Vertue and Power of the divine word pronounced by the Prieſt, a Miniſter ordained only to that effect, according to the Inſtitution and Ordinance of our Lord.

This diſpute had ſeveral effects; *viz.* with the Reformed, to the ſtrengthning them in their belief, and with the Papiſts to a heſitation in theirs, reducing both to ſuch a Moderation, that in many places the latter were willing to part ſtakes with the former, being content to let them have the uſe

uſe of their Churches in turns, which expoſed the King and Queen abroad (eſpecially at *Rome*) to the cenſure of being ſtaggered in their Faith, and the Duke of *Guiſe* leaving the Court, induſtriouſly helped forward the belief of that report, arguing the truth of it, from their having a little before prevented the Execution of a bloody Maſſacre which he intended.

The Queen finding her ſelf under great diſguſt upon this occaſion, and threatned both at home and abroad, and deſiring to know the ſtrength of the Reformed, in caſe ſhe ſhould be quarelled with upon their ſcore, received from two thouſand one hundred and fifty Churches, an ingagement to ſpend willingly their Lives and Eſtates, in defence of their Prince and her. The Papiſts in many places made great Complaints, at *Aix* in *Provence*, at the Inſtigation of the Biſhop of *Ciſteron* and a *Cordilere*, they entred into a League, and got together many people, whom the *Cordilere* made believe were inviſible, ſo long as he carried his Wooden Croſs before them, they attempting firſt *Brignols*, where they defeated a Company of the Kings, then Beſieging *Beſſee* which they could not carry, went to *Bariols* which they took, but enjoyed it not long, ere by Command from the Queen, themſelves were beſieged by the Count of *Curſols*, who retook the Town by Aſſault; when the *Cordilere* found that his inviſibility would not ſave him, being there ſlain with his Croſs in his hand, and four hundred more with him; the firſt that entred were two Companies of the Reformed Religion, who when they ſaw the Town taken, and the Souldiers falling to plunder, retired into the Field, to return thanks to God

for his mercies to them, and when the General sent to them, to come and share with the rest in the booty, as they had in the enterprise; they continued their duty, and desired him to be pleased to suffer them to keep clean hands, and content themselves with having done God and their King the best service they could.

The Queen to prevent such irruptions in the future, Assembled at St. *Germans*, the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom, at which Assembly was made that Edict, which bears the name of that of *January*, for the security of the Protestants in the free exercise of their Religion, to which all the Ministers of State and Deputies agreed.

The 4*th* of *August* 1561. the Queen writ a long Letter to the Pope (which *d'Avila* doth not mention, though *D'Aubignie* doth) setting forth the dangerous condition of *France*, by reason of Religion, reproving most of the material errors in the Church of *Rome*, desiring his Concurrence in reforming of them; for *Beza* by his appearance at the Assembly, had not only procured the Edict of *January* for the Reformed, but so far advanced the Reformation, as to gain the Queens Recommendation of it to the Pope; but Peace being contrary to the design of the *Guises*, they would not suffer the Edict to work, but immediately after the granting of it, contrived several Massacres against the Reformed, as in *March* following at *Vassi* in *Champaigne*, where the Duke of *Guise* himself was in person. In *April* at *Sens* in *Burgundy*. In *May* at *Marseillis*, *Aix*, *Sulon*, and several other Cities in *Provence*; for the *Guises* dreading the Reformed as the Chief party that would obstruct their aspiring to the Crown, all

Edicts

Edicts for preſervation of the Religion were laid aſide, and no way of deſtroying the Reformed neglected, as by ſtabbing, ſtoning, ſtrangling, burning, famiſhing, drowning, ſtifling, and others too tedious to enumerate; which grand Cruelties moving ſeveral great perſons to compaſſion, they met at the great Admiral's, to conſider of ſome way for their preſervation; but as the wiſeſt men are commonly the leaſt daring, becauſe moſt ſenſible of danger, ſo the Admiral who was reckoned as the *Solomon* of that Age, by the ſtrength of reaſon ſilenced them all, until by an extraordinary providence he was prevailed with; the ſtory of which, *Monſieur d'Aubignie*, who was the Favourite of *Henry* the Fourth, and writ by his Order, affirms to be as followeth.

This great and wiſe man the Admiral being one Night wakened out of his ſleep by the ſighs and groans of his Lady, and endeavouring to ſatisfie her in that which he knew was her trouble, and to arm her with patience under perſecution, gave her occaſion to ſpeak to him in this manner.

Monſieur D' Aubigny his Hiſtory.

Sir, It is great regret to me, that I trouble and diſturb your reſt by my unquietneſs, but the Members of Chriſt, being ſo torn as they are at this day, of which Body we are part, how can we, or any other part remain inſenſible? You Sir, have not ſo little ſenſe as much ſtrength to hide it, can you take it ill from your faithful moiety, if with more freedom than reſpect, ſhe pours out her tears and thoughts into your boſom? We lie here, Sir, in fulneſs and plenty, whilſt our Brethren, fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bone, are ſome in

Dungeons, and others in the Fields, at the mercy of the Dogs and Ravens, this Bed is a Grave to me, whilſt they want Graves, and theſe ſheets reproaches, whilſt they want winding Sheets. Can we ſleep quietly, and not hear the departing groans of our dying Brethren? I cannot but remember the prudent diſcourſe by which you ſhut the mouths of the Lords your Brothers, and the reſt of the Company, tearing from them all their Hearts, and leaving them as well without Courage as anſwer; I tremble to think that this prudence is only from the World, and that to be wiſe for men is not to be ſo for God, who having given you the knowledge of a great Captain, can you in Conſcience refuſe the uſe of it for his Children? You have vowed otherwiſe to me, and your Truncheon, Sir, is the Truncheon of God, and can you fear he will make you culpable for following him? the Sword that you wear, is it to oppreſs the afflicted, or to redeem them from the power of Tyrants? You have confeſſed the Juſtice of their Arms, ſince they are forced to them, can your Heart quit the love of Right, for the fear of Succeſs? It is God that taketh away ſenſe from thoſe that reſiſt him, under colour of ſparing Blood, and he will ſave the Soul of him that will loſe it, and loſe the Soul of him that will ſave it. Sir, I have now poured out my Heart to you, in behalf of ſo much Bloodſhed of ours, which Blood, and your Wives Cries to Heaven, go from this Bed to God againſt you, for Murthering thoſe which you will not hinder from being Murthered. This powerful Speech drew from the Admiral, after ſome pauſe, this Anſwer.

Since I have gained nothing by this Evenings reaſoning,

reasoning, upon the Vanity of popular Commotions, the doubtful entry into a party not formed, the difficult beginnings, not against a Monarchy alone, but against the possessors of an Estate which ha[illegible]d Roots; so many interested to maintain it, free from all attempts, either within or without, in general Peace, new, and in its first flower, and which is worse, made with our Neighbours expresly for our ruine, beside the late defection of the King of *Navar* and Constable, so much strength on the Enemies side, and weakness on ours, but that you still remain the same, lay your hand upon your Heart, and examine your Constancy, if it can digest general Roots, the reproaches of Enemies, yea even of your own party, the Calumnies of the people, who judge of things according to success, the Treasons of your Friends, flights and exiles into strange Countries, shame, nakedness, famine, and that which is more hard, the same to your Children; examine if you can support a Death by an Executioner, after you have seen your Husband trailed and exposed to the ignominy of the vulgar, and in the end your Children infamous, the Valets of your Enemies, increased by the Wars triumphing over your labours; I give you three Weeks to consider hereof, and when you shall be in earnest satisfied against such accidents, I will go and perish with you and your Friends.

To this she suddenly replied, Sir, the three Weeks are already finished, you shall never be overcome by the Vertue of your Enemies; use yours, and suffer not to lie upon your Head, the Murthers that will be committed in three Weeks time, and I summon you in the name of God, to

defraud us no longer, or I will be a Witneſs againſt you at the Day of Judgement.

After this the Admiral applied himſelf to the raiſing of his party, and forming of their ſtrength, who chuſing the Prince of *Condy* for their Head, became in a ſhort time very powerful, and with the aſſiſtance of Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memory, to whom they gave *Haver-de-grace* for caution, they ſucceeded proſperouſly, and by a Victory gained in *September* 1562. wherein *Antony* of *Burbon* King of *Navar* (Father of *Henry* the Fourth, having imbraced the Popiſh Religion) was ſlain; they brought the King not long after to a Peace, and to the granting another Edict (which is as an Act of Parliament in *England*) for the ſetling of their Religion in Peace and Liberty, Commiſſioners being appointed to ſee to the execution and obſervance of the Articles, under a plauſible pretence of reality, when there was ſo little of ſincerity, that inſtead of obſerving them, they were ſoon after their Confirmation broke in every particular, Murthers, and all manner of Injuſtice being again committed againſt the Reformed, who when they complained at Court of the wrongs done them, received no other anſwer, than the clapping up of their Deputies, the Kings party making it matter of laughter, for them to expect the keeping of Edicts or Acts of Parliament.

Theſe Violences ſoon cauſed a ſecond War, wherein the Proteſtants alſo prevailed, to the bringing the King to a third Edict, by which (becauſe of ſo many former breaches of Faith and Covenants) were granted to the Reformed four Cautionary Cities for ſecurity (to wit) *Rochell*, *Mountaban*,

Mountaban, *Conyack*, and *La Charité*, from which Grant *Rochel* derived their right of ſtanding out againſt their Kings. Yet notwithſtanding this proviſion for keeping the King to his Agreement, the Council of *Conſtance*, by the Example of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, having taught the Papiſts to believe breach of Faith with thoſe they call Hereticks, to be no offence, but lawful and even meritorious; and the King having been maximed, that Princes are not tied to keep Edicts extorted from them, this laſt Edict no more than the former was obſerved, all manner of Cruelty and Maſſacres being again committed; for the King who had been bred to ſee Beaſts torn in pieces in their blood, was left without Bowels, and Maſſacres by the frequency of them made natural to him.

This not being the way to Peace, the War was ſtill carried on by the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and the Queen of *Navar* going to *Rochel*, was declared Head of the Reformed, but ſhe devoting her Son (who was after *Henry* the Fourth) to the ſervice of thoſe of the Religion (which is the name the Reformed in *France* are uſually called by) having brought him up in their Faith, reſigned her Charge to him, declaring under him, his Uncle the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral Lieutenant-Generals, they again brought the King to ſeveral Agreements, but none of them being kept, neceſſitated the continuance of the War, to the loſs (beſide others) of many great perſons on both ſides, as of the Kings party, the King of *Navar*, Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Conſtable *Montmorancy*, were ſlain; on the Reformed, the Prince of *Conde* was baſely aſſaſſinated, but left a Son which inherited his Vertues, as *Guiſe* did

ſeveral, who ſucceeded him in ambition, and carried on the War upon the ſame deſign as their Father had begun it.

The War was now managed on the Proteſtant Party by the Admiral, in the name of the two young Princes of *Navar* as Head, and *Conde* as ſucceeding his Father in his Command. The Admiral governed affairs ſo wiſely, having always the two young Princes with him, that as the Biſhop of *Rodez*, in his Hiſtory of *Henry* the Fourth confeſſeth, the King not daring to adventure a Battel with him, nor having any hopes of overcoming the party by force, reſolved to make Peace, and work his ends by other means, which was ſuch as even the Biſhop calls wicked.

Now the King knowing that the Reformed had (as *Monſieur d'Aubignie* affirms) two hundred Cities in their hands, the worſt of which was able to hold out a Siege againſt a Royal Army for a month at leaſt, with other ſutable advantages, came to a Treaty with them, giving them another Edict for their ſecurity, which was for two years well obſerved, but to the end, that he might in that time the better compaſs and bring about his Satanical and deceitful deſign, he pretended ſo much kindneſs to the whole party, eſpecially to the Admiral, that he caſt himſelf at *Rome* under ſuſpicion of liking them too well, and *Monſieur d'Aubignie* is of opinion, that the Admiral had gained much upon the ſpirit of the King, and had probably got the ſole Dominion of him, had not the aſſiduous workings of the Queen and the *Guiſes* prevented him: but to leave the uncertainty of this, it is moſt certain, that the King acted at laſt a diſſembling part to as high a degree, if not

not higher, than ever any had done before him; for meerly as a blind, he forced his Sister, altogether against her will, to marry the Prince of *Navar*, as the greatest pledge of Faith that he was capable of giving to the Reformed, pretended to make War against the King of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, in favour of the Protestants, gave them all they could desire, denied the Admiral no request, granting him those Suits which before he had refused his Mother and Brothers, called him Father, caressing him and his Friends in the highest manner imaginable, accompanied with the like tokens of sincerity; and yet all but to delude the Protestants into a belief of his integrity, that so bringing them together to the Marriage of the Prince of *Navar*, he might the better at once butcher them all.

Oh the monstrous and horrible Hypocrisie of the heart of man! too many believed, whilst others mistrusted him, the Excellent Queen of *Navar* (whom the Papists confess exceeded her Sex, having no fault but Heresie) unhappily coming to the Marriage of her Son, was by poyson prevented the seeing of it, and from her death the Prince her Son took the Title of King of *Navar*. This sad beginning was excused by the Court the best they could, denying the poyson (though no doubt is made of it, *Monsieur d'Avila* himself confessing it to be done by a pair of Gloves) that it might not hinder the Marriage, nor subsequent design, the days for Execution of both being set and could not be deferred, and within six days after the Solemnity, upon St. *Bartholomews* day, the four and twentieth of *August*, 1572. was that horrid Massacre of *Paris* perpetrated, wherein the famous

famous old Admiral, twenty other great Persons, twelve hundred Gentlemen, and throughout the Cities of the Kingdom, after the example of *Paris*, near one hundred thousand in all (according to the Bishop of *Rodez* report) were most Satanically assassinated in cold Blood. The King of *Navar* and young Prince of *Conde* being forced to go to Mass to save their lives. This Butchery was acted with such inhumanity, that neither Age, Sex, nor Relation was spared; but Uncles became the Executioners of their Nephews and Nieces, as Nephews of their Uncles and Aunts, sutable to the spirit of Cruelty, running along with the Doctrine of *Rome*.

The King made his boast of this inhumane Cruelty, asking the Queen if he had not dissembled well, and went to the Parliament at *Paris* on purpose to own the Act, where *Monsieur Thou*, Chief President of the Court (and who at home had wept, complaining of the Massacre) made a long Harangue to the King in commendations of it, and of that Principle, That he knows not how to Reign, that knows not how to dissemble; such Vassals and Slaves are sometimes the best of Courtiers, to the lusts and wills of their Masters.

There were none that knew of this Plot, and had their hands in it before it came to Execution, beside the King, Queen, Dukes of *Anjou*, *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, Brother to the latter, it being so secretly carried, whilst it was in agitation, that the Pope and his Consistory was highly offended with the King for his kindness to the Reformed, as not knowing the meaning of it, the King having been so private in it, that he caused

ſed a Gentleman (a Favourite of his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*) to be aſſaſſinated, becauſe he perceived he had a ſuſpicion of it.

Now as the Judgments of the Lord are for our Inſtruction, ſo the ſeveral deaths of all theſe principal Actors in this bloody Tragedy are worthy obſervation, the King died wallowing in Blood, not only iſſuing from all the paſſages of his Body, but as it were in a ſweat of Blood from all the pores of it. The two *Guiſes*, the Duke and Cardinal, were aſſaſſinated by command of King *Henry* the Third; the Queen a few days after them died of grief, lamented by none, but hated by every one (as the Biſhop of *Rodez* affirms:) And the Duke of *Anjou*, who after the Kings deceaſe came to the Crown, under the name of *Henry* the Third, was ſlain by a ſtab from a *Jacobin* Fryer.

And as *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*'s perſecution of the Proteſtant Subjects in his Dominions, and his end is alſo very obſervable, ſo I think it not improper in this place to take notice of both.

Beſide this Kings cruelty in the *Netherlands*, and perſecuting life, having once eſcaped a great danger of being caſt away at Sea; at his arrival in *Spain*, he appointed two days of rejoycing (as days of Thankſgiving) one at *Validolid*, and the other at *Sevil*, whither he cauſed thoſe in priſon for Religion, to be brought from ſeveral places of his Kingdom, upon which days Scaffolds being made for a multitude of Beholders, with a diſtinction of ſeats for perſons according to their Qualities, the Priſoners were (with Triumphing Ceremonies, and dreſſed in ſuch Antick manner, as might beſt make the Beholders merry) led to the Fires,

Fires, and burnt before them; but as many faithful Martyrs finiſhed their courſe at this time, bearing ſignal teſtimony to the Truth, ſo the end of that King (who was ſo great an Enemy to the Reformed, that he put to death his Eldeſt Son *Charles*, partly upon ſuſpicion of being a Favourer of them) is as fit to be remembred, he dying alſo of blood iſſuing from all the paſſages of his Body, with a continual vomiting of Vermin (as the Biſhop of *Rodez* in his Hiſtory of *Henry* the Fourth relates.) And thus the Lord gave them blood to drink, who had delighted in Blood.

The Pope, leſt Maſſacres ſhould have been looked odiouſly upon in the World, and ſo his Church deprived of the uſe and benefit of them, to give them credit and reputation, declared a Jubile for that of *Paris*, and returned thanks unto the King for it, as a means to keep up the practice of them; but notwithſtanding his wrath, which aimed at no leſs than the utter deſtruction of the people of God, the Lord raiſed them again, and fortified the remainder of his Church with greater reſolution to ſtand upon their defence than ever, ſeeming to reprove the Barbariſms of ſome Princes, and great ones of the World, who vaunt and ſtand ſo much upon their Honour, by the more honourable Principles of the publick Executioner of the City of *Lyons*, and the common Souldiers of that Garriſon; the firſt, when commanded to maſſacre thoſe of the Religion which they had got together, refuſed to do it, ſaying, *That his office was to execute perſons condemned to dye according to Juſtice, and not others*; and the latter upon the ſame Command, *That their duty was to kill their Enemies in the Field, and not in cold Blood*

Blood men in Prisons, which may well be remembred, to the perpetual infamy of those who took that imployment upon them, which both the common Hangman and mercenary Souldiers detested.

After this, the Duke of *Anjou*, by Command of the King, promising to himself the total extinguishment of the Protestant party, besieged *Rochel*, and for the more countenance and terrour to the City, having the young King of *Navar* in his possession, forced his accompanying of him thither; but the Town with the assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, was so well maintained, that after the Duke had spent, as some report, thirty four thousand Cannon shot against it, and lost forty thousand men, he was forced to rise upon equal terms, granting the Town most honourable and safe Conditions; and the King to make Peace with their whole Party, giving them another Edict for their security.

Now the Duke of *Anjou* being chosen King of *Poland*, posted thither in haste, but was not long absent before his Brother *Charles* the Ninth fell sick, who when near death, sent for the King of *Navar*, recommending the care of his Queen and Daughter to him, confessing him to be a person of Honour, not esteeming so of his Mother or Brothers (as it seems by his passing them by in the trust) to whom at that time he is said to have born a perfect hatred, though they had been Companions with him in Iniquity. And thus at last, the honourable Principles of the King of *Navar* were acknowledged by the French King as a just reward of *Navars* Vertue to his great Glory, and his Enemies reproach and shame; and soon after this,

this, *Charles* the Ninth left the World in that manner as is before related.

Not long before his death, and when they saw it approaching, his Brother the Duke of *Alançon*, *Montmorency*, and some other Grandees, combined to deprive the Queen-Mother of the Regency; but the King was no sooner expired, than she prevented them by seizing the Government, in the absence of her Son (the King of *Poland*, now *Henry* the Third) in his name, when immediately causing the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde* (both still Prisoners) to be brought before her, after sharp reproofs, she released them. The Prince of *Conde* slipped presently into *Germany*, where he raised Forces for the relief of the oppressed Protestants, but the King was longer in getting away.

Now the War beginning again, the Duke of *Alançon* (the Kings Brother) joyned with the Prince of *Conde*, and in a short time after, the King of *Navar* escaped to *Rochel*, where they received him willingly, but excepted against many of his Followers, as wicked debauched Atheists, without any Morality as well as Religion, which he did not oppose, knowing them to be persons put upon him by the Court, in design to make him as wicked as themselves, the only way, as they thought, to secure him from the Reformed Religion.

The Protestants in the Year 1576. brought *Henry* the Third (now returned out of *Poland*) to a large Edict for the quiet enjoyment of their Religion, at which the Papists being offended, they framed that Catholick League which vexed *France* about twenty years, the beginning was small, but soon

soon increased, the pretence being to maintain Popery and extirpate Reformation, but at bottom the design was first to destroy the Order of Succession in the Royal Race, and then the Line it self, to make way for *Henry* Duke of *Guise*, who had at that time the advantage of having of his own Family eight or ten Princes in his Party, all persons of useful parts and daring spirits.

The Queen and the *Guises* begin now all to be weary of Peace, the first as being naturally of a turbulent spirit, and not so considerable under it as War, and the others as not holding Peace suitable to their ends. And therefore they put the King upon demanding of the Protestants, the Towns given them by several Edicts for their security, as the Queen did them upon a denial thereof as an unreasonable request, so that a War consequently followed, but lasted not longer than until the Year 1580. that Peace was again concluded, and another Edict for satisfaction of the Reformed granted.

After this the new modelled League increasing, the King was made a meer Cypher, the *Guises* by the power of the League so overtopping him, that at the Assembly, in the Year 1585. held at *Blois*, they forced him to repeal all the Edicts which he had sworn unto, and made for the benefit of the Protestants, and to make another for the banishing of them all; the Ministers within one month, and the rest within six upon pain of death, to disinherit the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde*, and to settle the Succession upon their Uncle a Cardinal, an old Man, and one whom they knew could neither have Children, or live long, and this to the end, that when he died, (if they

stayed

ſtayed until then) the *Guiſes* might ſtep into the Throne.

This gave beginning to the War again, and the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, great and juſt cauſe to declare the Aſſembly at *Blois* null and void. Now *Henry* the Third ſeeing himſelf laid aſide in part, and near a total depoſition, the Leaguers name alone being uſed in many tranſactions, without once mentioning his, he then plotted as his laſt remedy, the taking away of the *Guiſes*, and in the Year 1588. the Court being at *Blois*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal, were by the Kings Command both ſlain, they being too powerful to be brought to a legal Tryal.

The King endeavoured the ſeizing of all their Adherents at the ſame time that they were put to death, and made himſelf Maſter of the Dukes young Sons, with ſome others near hand; but the Duke of *Maienne*, Brother to the *Guiſes*, being further off, and having notice of the death of his Brothers, ſaved himſelf before he was arreſted, and ſo became the General, and Head of the League. In this ſame Year, *Henry* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, was by his Enemies taken away by poyſon; a great loſs to the Reformed Church, there dying in him the Vertue of his own particular Line.

The death of the *Guiſes* wrought variouſly *(viz.)* with the Leaguers, to the making them the more fierce againſt the King, and with him for the ſecurity of himſelf, to joyn with the King of *Navar* and his Proteſtant Party. This Conjunction ſeemed to carry all before them, beleaguring *Paris* (which held with the League) and in a fair way

way of reducing it, but the Death of *Henry* the Third, by a fatal ſtroke from a *Jacobin* Fryer (the firſt of *Auguſt* 1589.) prevented their progreſs, by the diſtractions that followed thereupon among the united Forces; the Monk was immediately ſlain by thoſe about the King, which unhappily hindered the further diſcovery of the Treaſon; the King lived ſome hours after the fatal blow, in which time he ſent for the King of *Navar*, declared him (all his own Brothers being dead) his lawful and lineal Succeſſor, adviſing him to imbrace the Romiſh Religion, and exhorted his own Party to be faithful to him.

Many ſtuck to him, in hopes of his following the Kings advice in the change of his Religion, others grew cold as fearing it; he durſt not declare any way, that he would not turn for fear of loſing the Popiſh Party, nor that he would, for grieving his old Proteſtant Party.

The Leaguers beſtirred themſelves more now than ever, acting all in their own names, calling their true and undoubted King, who had never forfeited his Right, by the name only of *Henry* of *Bourbon*; the Pope caſt out his Thunderbolts againſt the King and his Party, the Leaguers called in the *Spaniard*, and declared the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, but he not enjoying that Title long, being in a ſhort time after taken away by Death, they proceeded after his Deceaſe without a King, and ſo far diſtreſſed *Henry* the Fourth, that they drive him to *Diep*, from whence he was ready to Imbark for *England*, and had done it, but that by Queen *Elizabeth*'s ſeaſonable ſupplying him with four or five thouſand men, gathering breath again, he recovered ſtrength, and came in a little

time to be upon equal terms with the Leaguers.

The *Spaniard* (being now entred the Kingdom) ſolicited the Leaguers to chuſe a King, a Book being writ by one *Hotheman*, a great Civilian, to prove the Kingdom of *France* Elective, with power in the States to depoſe their Kings, according to ſeveral Examples inſtanced in; the King of *Spain* propounded to them to give his Daughter with great advantages to whomſoever they ſhould make King, having an eye either upon the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who was eſcaped out of Priſon, or upon the young Duke of *Lorrain*; but herein the *Spaniard* was much out in his Politicks; for the Duke of *Maienne* having the power of the Sword, and not in a capacity of anſwering the *Spaniards* deſign in a match; himſelf being married and without a Son for their Daughter, he ſet *Maienne*, who could not bear the thoughts of any new King but himſelf, againſt him, and the Houſes of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe* one againſt another, and both againſt *Maienne*, becauſe he obſtructed their advancement to the Crown, and ſo *Spain* divided the League which they ſhould have kept united, as thoſe by whom they were to have wrought their ends.

The War went on ſtill with ſtruglings on both ſides, and with various ſucceſs, until at laſt *Henry* the Fourth, partly from the importunity of his Popiſh Friends, & partly from miſtruſt of Providence, declared himſelf a Papiſt, whereby making *Henry* the Thirds Party firm to him, and his own old Proteſtant Friends not forſaking him (though highly grieved at his revolt) he carried all before him.

The

The King ſent an Embaſſador to *Rome* to procure his acceptance and reconciliation there, as the King of *Spain* and the Leaguers ſent theirs to oppoſe it, pleading him to be a Relapſer, and therefore his Recantation not to be received; eſpecially it not being, as they alledged, ſincere but feigned, and from neceſſity. Great ſtrivings there were a long time at *Rome* on both ſides, the one to be received, and the other to hinder it, until at laſt the Kings affairs increaſing, an end was put to the diſpute by the Popes acceptance of him, which was not long done, before the Duke of *Guiſe* (who waited for an honourable pretence for coming in to the King) left his Uncle the Duke of *Maienne*, and made his Peace. Many followed his Example, while the League kept yet together under their Head and General, but in a ſhort time the King reduced them all; ſome by force, and others by kindneſs. The Duke of *Maienne* was the laſt of the *French* Army that ſtood out, and yet notwithſtanding (with a remarkable Clemency) the King gave him honourable Conditions, at a time when he was not in a capacity of reſiſting, telling him after he had (at their firſt meeting) walked him round his Camp at a greater rate than he was well able to bear, being fat and corpulent, whereas the King was ſpare and nimble, that he had thereby revenged himſelf ſufficiently upon him; a revenge ſuitable to the magnanimity and greatneſs of his Soul, Cruelty and Oppreſſion being the effects of Cowardiſe and baſeneſs.

After this the King having to do with none but the *Spaniard*, he forced him eaſily to a Peace, which was concluded at *Veruin*, betwixt the two Kings and the Duke of *Savoy*, by Articles ſworn

unto for them and their Allies; ſo that *Geneve* being declared an Ally of *France*, and comprehended in the Peace, thinking themſelves thereby ſecure, entertained an intimate correſpondence with *Savoy*, they having always an Agent from him reſiding with them; but that Duke in a few Years after, whilſt in full Peace (with a Hypocritical pretence of Friendſhip) plotted the ſuprizing of the City, with an intent to have put all to the Sword, and was ſo far advanced in his falſe and wicked deſign, that the 12*th* of *December* (in the Year 1602.) being a dark night, he had put two hundred men over the Walls into the Town, had fixed a *Petarr* to one of the Gates, and had twelve or fifteen hundred Souldiers more, near at hand, ready to enter, himſelf not being much further off with other aſſiſtance, ſo that not fearing a failure in the leaſt, he ſent Couriers ſeveral ways to his Friends, to carry the news of his being Maſter of *Geneve*; but when he had ſaid in his Heart they were in his hands, and he would devour them, in that wherein he dealt proudly God was above him, preventing all, by the accidental killing of the man that was to have given Fire to the Petar, by which means the Town having time to riſe, they ſlew and took Priſoners moſt of thoſe that were entered, being many of them perſons of the beſt quality of *Savoy*; thoſe taken alive (though on the Lords Day in the Morning) were by the Juſtice of the Town tryed as Traitors (and not as Priſoners of War, becauſe in time of full Peace) Condemned and Executed, by cutting off their Heads; the Bodies of all the ſlain, as well as of thoſe Beheaded, being thrown the ſame Day into the River of *Rohan* (into which at the Town the Lake

Lake of *Geneve* falls) their Heads being all ſet upon a Pole near the City; this was ſo great a deliverance, that to this time they hold a very ſolemn Anniverſary Day of Thankſgiving for it. The Town would have made War upon the Duke for this breach of Oath and Faith, as thinking their Allies ingaged to ſecond them in it; but *Henry* the Fourth being then in love with Peace, took up the difference; but this horrid and abominable Hypocriſie in the Duke of *Savoy*, with his Anceſtors former breach of Faith with his Reformed Subjects, together with *Charles* the Ninth of *France* his Diſſimulation, for compaſſing the Maſſacre of *Paris*, and his predeceſſors never keeping Agreements with the Proteſtants of *France*, may well be a caution to all Separatiſts to the Church of *Rome*, to be careful how they truſt to the Oaths of Popiſh Princes.

The King of *Navar* now under the Title of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, having reduced all his Kingdom, applied himſelf to the ſetling of it, and to that end made an Act of Oblivion, forgetting the greateſt injuries, even that of the Parliament of *Tholouſe* their Arraigning, Condemning, and Executing of him in his Effigies as a Traytor, ſetled the Proteſtant Religion by an Edict, bearing the name of that of *Nantes*, in larger liberty than ever, rendring them equally capable with Papiſts of all manner of preferments, offices, and priviledges whatſoever, their cauſes in Law being made triable only by Judicatures, conſtituted of equal numbers of each Religion, which Edict too long to recite, is declared in expreſs words to be perpetual

The Edict of *Nantes*, &c. is lately publiſhed in Engliſh.

tual and irrevocable, bearing date in the Year 1598. And beſide this, the King to the advantage of the Religion, gave countenance to the Edict, by making (in favour of it) choice of the Duke of *Sullie* (a zealous Proteſtant) for his Chief Favourite and Miniſter of State, imploying him in all his affairs, which truſt the Duke anſwered with ſo much wiſdom and honeſty, that in leſs than twelve Years that the King out lived the Civil Wars, his Debts were paid, much ſpent in Building, Taxes leſſened, and a Treaſure of fifty Millions of Livers gathered; a good Example for Chief Miniſters of State.

There is nothing reflects upon this King in his ſettlement, but the reſtoring of the Jeſuits, who had been baniſhed, as a puniſhment for one of their Fraternities attempting to ſtab him in the Heart, though he did it only in the Mouth, upon which Villany it was that one of his Favourites applying it as a warning to him, told him, that as God had ſtruck him in the Mouth, for denying him with his Tongue, ſo he would in the Heart, when he ſhould deny him there.

Before the Reſtauration of the Jeſuits, the King had ſeveral debates in private with the Duke of *Sullie* about it, wherein the Duke overcoming him with reaſons for the not doing of it, he (who in the Field had always been a ſtranger to fear) confeſſed his fear of the Jeſuits, and ſo reduced the Duke to a ſilent ſubmiſſion, conſidering there was no fence againſt fear; and thus the Jeſuits (Enemies to humane Society) were reſtored, and the Pillar of their ſhame (erected in *Paris* with reproachful Inſcriptions) pulled down, no marks being left upon them for the horridneſs of their Principles,

Principles, ſave that whereas the Caps of other Jeſuits and Prieſts are made with a perfect Croſs, one part of the Croſs (leaving it triangular) is taken from the Jeſuits Caps of *France*, of which inſtead of being aſhamed, their impudence is ſuch, that many of them glory in it.

The Jeſuits of France *have lately got the liberty of making their Caps with a perfect Croſs, & wearing of them ſo as the reſt of that Order do.*

After ſetling *France* thus in perfect and entire Peace, ſubduing all Factions, gathering a Treaſure, and by his excellent Government rendring himſelf the delight of his people, having ſome great undertaking in his intention, though undeclared, he laid down a method for maintaining of a War, raiſed an Army of forty thouſand men, ſuch as Chriſtendom had not often ſeen, taking order for ſuch Recruits as he ſhould have need of. His deſign was, without all peradventure, for the relief of the oppreſſed States and Princes of *Germany*; how far he looked further is uncertain, but the World had ſo great an opinion of his Honour, Mercy, Juſtice, and Faithfulneſs to his word (in all which, *France* never had the like) that whatever it was he aimed at, they believed, as he negatively profeſſed, that it was not for increaſing his own Dominions, being fully contented with what he had.

This Army (which was a terror to the Houſe of *Auſtria*) being ready to march, the King went to *Paris* to the Coronation of his Queen, when to ſatisfie her importunity, (though contrary to his own judgment) he ſetled the Regency upon her in his abſence, reſolving, after the Ceremonies were finiſhed, to return to his Army; but the very next day after the Coronation and ſetling of the Re-

gency, riding in his Coach in *Paris*, he received a ſtab from a Fryer, which gave him not leave to ſpeak one word. How much the people of *France*, and eſpecially of *Paris* (who had moſt ſtood out againſt him) after they had had experience of his good and vertuous Government, were afflicted at his death, is inexpreſſible.

The Villain was taken, and put to the Rack for diſcovering his Complices; but the Biſhop of *Rodez* in his Hiſtory ſaith no more of it, than that his Confeſſion was not made known, and that when thoſe that examined him were asked of it, they durſt make no other anſwer, than with the ſhrug of their ſhoulders; by which there ſeems to be too too much hinted concerning ſome perſon that was too great to be ſpoken of.

When this great Prince died, the Proteſtant Religion was in its Zenith, and top of reputation, but good Queen *Elizabeth* being dead ſome years before, and the Proteſtant party having now no Protector left them, they being both gone, the Intereſt of the Reformed begun then to decline.

In the life time of *Henry* the Fourth, ſome great Perſons following his example, revolted from their Religion; but when he was gone, and the Regency (during the Minority of his Son) in the Queen, the hopes of acquiring her Favour, made ſome proſtitute their Conſciences, and others, that they might be the more ſerviceable to her, and render themſelves ſo much the greatlier deſerving her Grace, as they were capable of ſerving her ends, kept themſelves only to the outward profeſſion of their firſt Principles (as ſome at this day practiſe the ſame policy) in the number of which the Dukes of *Trimoulle* and *Boullion* bear too high a rank.

The

The Papiſts, as loth to be behind any in injuries to thoſe of the Religion, and ambitious of making themſelves acceptable to the Court of *Rome*, as others did to the Queen, contrived the bringing back to the Drones of their Church, the Lands in the Principality of *Bearn* in the Kingdom of *Navar*, which had been near ſixty years converted to other and better uſes. This Province was one of the places, where the Reformation was firſt ſetled in Peace and Freedom, by that excellent Queen of *Navar*, Mother to *Henry* the Fourth, and Great Grandmother to *Charles* the Second preſent King of *England*; but the people, though not able to reſiſt this wrong, yet not knowing how to obey ſo great an invaſion of their Rights, cauſed the King to advance with his Army to them, who though at firſt promiſed the maintaining of their Priviledges, yet the very next day after that promiſe made to them, took them away, in annexing *Bearn* to *France*, and therein changing the Government of the Country, the expectation of the Kings being true to his word, being looked upon by the Courtiers, as the effects of folly and weakneſs in the too too credulous Proteſtants.

Upon this invaſion of Right, the whole Proteſtant party in *France*, eſteeming their Religious liberties ſtruck at in it, took up Arms for defence of their Rights and Priviledges, and in them for the relief of *Bearn*, making the Duke of *Rohan* their General, to whoſe excellent Memoires I refer the Reader to the ſtory of thoſe Wars which followed upon this occaſion, what goes before being collected out of other Authors, without making uſe of *Monſieur d'Avila*'s Works; for although

although none can deny, but his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of *France* is finely writ, and better tranſlated, yet being held by the Proteſtants upon the place to be very partially done, I have choſen rather in this deduction, to make uſe of *Monſieur d'Aubignie*'s ſtory of the ſame times, as accounted much more authentick than the other, he having been a great Favourite of *Henry* the Fourth, and by his Order furniſhed with all neceſſary helps for writing of his Hiſtory; and if *Monſieur d'Avila*'s care in matters of Fact, was no better, than in affirming *England*, and the Reformiſts in *Germany*, to be all *Lutherans* (when beſide the many *Calviniſts* that are in the Empire, the Articles and Diſcipline of our Church differ ſo much from the *Lutherans*, that we cannot properly be compared to them) as alſo, that in the *Bartholomew* Maſſacre there were but forty thouſand murdered, when the Biſhop of *Rodez* confeſſeth, that after the Example of *Paris*, there was throughout the Cities of the Kingdom near a hundred thouſand; nor than in his Geographical Deſcription of *Rochel*, *Diep*, and *Bullogne*; making the firſt to lye over againſt *England*, the ſecond over againſt the Mouth of the *Thames*, and the third upon the Ocean Sea; there may be cauſe to except againſt his Authority, and to wiſh, the Tranſlator had beſtowed his labour upon ſome more authentick Hiſtory of thoſe Times. For ſince he hath ſo groſly erred in things eaſily corrected, it may well be ſuppoſed he hath done the ſame in matters more in the dark.

As the Lords wonderful workings are moſt taken notice of, when from ſmall beginnings, and contrary means, he produceth great effects, ſo of

moſt

moſt ſtories in the World, none deſerves more obſervation as to both particulars, than this of *France*, where a diſſolute young Merchant, called to repentance by an extraordinary means, was the Author of ſo much light; and where the ſeveral ways uſed for the extinguiſhing of that light, turned ſtill to the increaſing of it, and that to ſo high a degree, as the Confederation of all the Romiſh Party, with their bloody practices could never ſuppreſs; and where after *Henry* the Fourth had turned his back upon the Truth, contrary to the rule of Apoſtates (who are generally the moſt violent againſt their old Party, to gain credit with their new) he notwithſtanding retained ſo much gratitude to thoſe that ſet him in his Throne, and confidence of their Principles (knowing they had never been falſe to their Country, nor troubleſom to their Kings, but upon account of liberty of Conſcience in the Worſhip of God) that he left them in perfect liberty, with power to defend themſelves againſt any Invaders of their Rights, leaving at that time many Cities in their hands for their ſecurity. And thus being come from the Original of the Reformed, to their condition in their greateſt proſperity; I ſhall ſo far as is convenient, deduce their decay, and conclude with their preſent poſture.

The Proteſtant Intereſt in *France* hath had the ſame Fortune in its fall as in its advancement, to be followed by many other Countries, the reaſon of which is not obſcure; for although the Lord can and will, when it ſeems good to him, protect and maintain his Church, as well as raiſe it without the help of man, yet as the ordinary way of his Providence in the World is by ſecondary means,

means, so he made use of good Queen *Elizabeth* as an Instrument, during her Reign, of increasing it to the greatest height it ever arrived at. Whose death followed not many years after by the decease of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, was the occasion of its sad decay and languishment.

After God had prepared and fitted this excellent Queen for his work, by many troubles and afflictions, delivering her from death, which her unnatural Sister had designed, and that by the means of her greatest Enemy and Persecutor *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, so prodigious in Cruelty upon the account of Religion, that he spared not his own Son and Heir Apparent; she came to the Crown of *England* in a time when Popery was in its Zenith, and at that height, that nothing but an especial over-ruling hand of Providence could have preserved her; for in her own Dominions there were few for Reformation, the King of *Spain* in his greatest Glory, combining with the Pope and all their Adherents against her. In *France* the Protestants grievously afflicted and massacred, without the least hopes of relief, and every where without a head or formidable countenance, so that in many places they were the exercise of Tyrants cruelties, enough to have made the highest spirit yield, as much less made *Henry* the Fourth of *France* (the greatest Souldier of his time) warp; and that she did not sink under her burden, is acknowledged by her Enemies, who look no further than man, to have been the effect of a Courage not to be parallel'd, and by those that go higher, that there was an extraordinary appearance of God in it.

Her work required wisdom and resolution, the one

one alone would not have done it; for had they not both concentred in her, ſhe muſt have failed; but ſhe had wiſdom to chuſe wiſe and honeſt Counſellors, or at leaſt to chuſe them wiſe, and by her example and ſtrict eye, make them honeſt; ſhe was reſolute in reforming Religion, and even almoſt at the ſame time, in aſſiſting the Proteſtants in *Scotland* againſt their Queen, thoſe in *France* againſt their ſucceſſive Kings, and the Eſtates of *Holland* againſt theirs, levelling her main ſtroke againſt the Crown of *Spain*, as the chief Pillar of the Roman Church; ſhe was ſucceſsful in all ſhe undertook, ſetling Religion in *Scotland*, *Henry* the Fourth upon his Throne in *France* to do the like there, relieved the *Hollanders*, reduced the Papiſts in *Ireland*, ſuppreſſed at home all the continual Plottings of her Popiſh Subjects; and when the Houſe of *Auſtria* in their pride, thought none could have done them harm, ſhe when none elſe was in a capacity of doing it, put a ſtop to their Carrier, and humbled them, and all with ſo ſmall, though a well managed Revenue, not burdening of the people, that ſhe became dear to them; ſhe ruled not only over a great people, but in the Hearts of them, making their intereſt hers, without having any other, which procured reciprocally to her the having but once Purſe, the Nation being readier to give than ſhe was to ask, knowing that though Money were given her, if the occaſion was taken away, ſhe would return it to the people as ſhe once did. She kept to the Laws, without ſeeking innovations, loving her Country and people as parents do their children, having no intereſt but theirs, was a true Juſticer, not ſuffering the Greatneſs of any to bear down Right;

Sir

Sir *John Poynes* having a good Cauſe, was too hard for *Eſſex* (her greateſt Favourite) in a Court-conteſt betwixt them about that Ceremony called, Serving up all night, in ſome kind ſtill in uſe, which the Earl (being at play in the room) thought himſelf too great to obſerve and ſubmit unto, until controuled by Sir *John* (whoſe Office it was to clear the place) he was forced to withdraw, for which the Queen upon a Hearing commended Sir *John*, and blamed the Earl; nor could that Earl maintain his Page againſt a Country-Gentleman proſecuting him for the blood of his Servant, of whom in a Court-preſumption he had been the death; ſhe was true to her Proteſtant Allies, having few or none elſe, as quick in giving them relief, as they were in deſiring of it, and always true and faithful to her word.

Theſe Excellencies made her formidable in the World, loved by her Friends, feared and honoured by her Enemies, ſo that in her time, and by her influence Religion in all places (where it had any root) grew and proſpered; and eſpouſing the cauſe of God vigorouſly, not by halves, but heartily and throughly, ſhe rendred her ſelf the Head of the Proteſtant party, and thereby in her time the greateſt Potentate in the Chriſtian part of *Europe*, an Example worthy the Imitation of her Succeſſors, in that by making themſelves the Head of the Reformed, they may become the firſt and moſt formidable Power of Chriſtendom; and Greatneſs being that which all Princes aim at, it may well invite thoſe that are capable of it to the deſign.

The Government of this Queen cannot well be reflected upon, for more than two or three paſſages in all her days, and he muſt want Charity as well

well as good Nature, that cannot excuſe ſo few failings in the ſpace of ſeventy years that ſhe lived, eſpecially when in the general courſe of her Reign, which was near forty five of them, ſhe ſo truly purſued the Intereſt and good of Religion, and the Nation, that thereby the firſt was increaſed exceedingly, and the latter rendred glorious all over the World.

Her Death made preſently a great change in Councellors and Councils, it not being long after before *England* (whether with or contrary to their then Intereſt, I leave others to judge) made Peace with *Spain*, and left *Henry* the Fourth of *France* to ſtand alone, who was at that time the greateſt Countenancer of the Reformed, upon the account (at leaſt) of Common Juſtice and Gratitude, if not Conſcience as well as Policy. About eight years after the deceaſe of this Glorious Queen, that Famous King died in that manner, as is before mentioned, and in him the French Proteſtants beſt Friend, having left them in his own Country in ſuch perfect Freedom, and in ſo great Power, that if any conſiderable Reformed Potentate had, after Queen *Elizabeths* Example, joyned vigorouſly with the Dukes of *Rohan*, *Soubize* and *Sullie*, and other great Ones of the Religion that were faithful and ſincere to the Intereſt of it, he might with eaſe have eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant Liberty paſt ſhaking; for the Regency (after the death of *Henry* the Fourth, during the Minority of his Son) being in the Queen, a Woman of little experience in Affairs, and full of jealouſies, begot ſuch Factions in the State betwixt the Princes of the Blood and other Grandees, that the work would not have been difficult, and would have prevented

vented the Revolt of ſome, who forſook their Religion, and have kept others in awe, who did worſe, in keeping their Profeſſion on purpoſe to be the abler to betray the Cauſe. For they (ſeeing the party without any Soveraign protection, and the weakneſs of the Queen, ſuch as gave men of more wit than honeſty, opportunity of advancement, by complying with her) ſought themſelves, ſome openly by a publick profeſſion of Popery, and others covertly, by ſeemingly keeping to the Reformed Religion, whilſt under-hand they did them the more miſchief.

The Emperour ſeeing the diſtracted condition of the Reformed Church in *France*, without any to countenance them, was incouraged to Perſecution in *Bohemia*, wherein acting contrary to the Conditions upon which they had Elected and Crowned his Son King, they depoſed him, and in his place choſe the Prince Elector *Palatine*, which occaſioned a War betwixt the new King and the Emperour, in which the Prince *Palatine* loſt both his Kingdom, and Hereditary Countries.

The Emperour being thereby fleſhed with ſucceſs, went on againſt *Germany*, in hopes of making a perfect Conqueſt of that Country, and had certainly not failed in it, had not the Lord raiſed up the King of *Sweden* to prevent him. But the proſperous proceedings in *Germany*, eſpecially for the firſt twelve or thirteen years, of the Popiſh party, gave incouragement to the Wars againſt the Reformed in *France*, where, although the two incomparable Brothers, the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, were all the Princes that the iniquity of thoſe times had there left faithful to the Cauſe of God, they had made good their party, and kept

kept their ground in the laſt, as well as in the firſt and ſecond Wars, had their Neighbours ſtood but Neuters, and been faithful to them, as they ought in duty at leaſt to have done; but Counſels running contrary, and that Age affording many concurrent advantages to the Romiſh Church, not convenient to mention; the perſecuted Proteſtants loſt ground daily, until the Long Parliament (as bad as they were) from principles of Policy in reference to their own ſecurity, as well as to popular reputation, became (during their time) ſome countenance to them, their declared Principles being (pretendedly at leaſt) for the ſuppreſſion and ruine of Popery and advancement of the Reformation, moſt of their Foreign projects (according to the Hiſtory of thoſe Times) tending that way, they being in Treaty with Deputies from *Burdeaux*, upon Articles conducible to the ſame end, when *Cromwell* Uſurping the Government, did not only overthrow the deſign, but probably betrayed it to the *French* King, with the Lives of ſome ingaged in the buſineſs; for Mr. *Jochim Haines* (by birth a *German*) General Engineer to the Army, and one of his own Emiſſaries, imployed in that Affair, who after *Cromwell* and *Mazarine* were agreed, was purſued through *France*, and eſcaped miraculouſly, did believe he was diſcovered by *Oliver*, his Errand being known only to himſelf and his Confident; and herein *Cromwell* did more prejudice to the Proteſtant Cauſe than is recoverable, or than many ſuch petty Embaſſies to the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Savoy* in behalf of the *Waldenſes* (which is bragged of by his party) could have repaired.

For the way to have advanced the Proteſtant

Intereſt, had been to have kept the balance betwixt *France* and *Spain* equal, to the end to have rendred the Reformed in *France* neceſſary to their King, by which they would have had a formidable Intereſt in the World; whereas by caſting the Scale wholly on the *French* ſide, that King not ſtanding now much in need of them, forgetting all his former acknowledged obligations, hath at the inſtance of the Biſhops, taken up a ſevere perſecution of them.

Not but that I believe, *Oliver* next unto his own particular Intereſt, had ſome kindneſs for Religion, at leaſt he ſeemed ſo to have, as is witneſſed by his zealous and paſſionate Addreſſes to moſt, or all the conſiderable Proteſtant Princes and States of Chriſtendom, as well as to the *French* King, Duke and Dutcheſs of *Savoy* themſelves, in behalf of the poor Evangelical Churches of *Piemont*, when under dreadful and inhumane perſecution from their Prince the Duke of *Savoy* (or his Miniſters) but his aſpiring was ſo great, that he made all other deſigns ſubſervient to his Ambition. And thus having in part, and as far as is at preſent convenient in reference to this Age, ſhewed how the decay of the Proteſtant Intereſt hath been occaſioned, I ſhall in the next place ſay ſomething of their preſent condition.

Sir *Samuel Morelands* Hiſtory of his Negotiation, together with Sir *George Downings*.

After the *French* Kings reducing of *Rochel*, in the Year 1628. and making Peace the Year following, with the reſt of the Proteſtant party, the ruine of the Reformed in *France* was by the Biſhops deſigned, and had not the ſerviceableneſs of them to their Kings in their Civil as well as Foreign

reign Wars preſerved them, it had long e're this been executed, but their neceſſarineſs hath been often ſuch, that it hath not only deferred their doom, but alſo ſometimes drawn from their ſeveral Kings (for their incouragement) Confirmation of their Priviledges, ſo that their uſefulneſs hath ſince their reducement, been the greateſt ſecurity; for in loſing *Rochel*, they loſt their chief place of refuge to fly unto in caſe of Maſſacres, having then no other left, ſave *Sedan* belonging to the Duke of *Bulloign*, and out of *France*, though upon the edge of it, towards the *Low Countries* and *Germany*, as alſo *Orange*, belonging to the Prince of that Name, on the other ſide of *France* towards the *Mediterranean*; the firſt was parted with to the King, not long after the Surrender of *Rochel* by the Prince of it, to redeem his life when a Priſoner, and had elſe ſurely loſt it, and the other, the two Princeſſes Dowagers of *Orange*, the Mother and Grandmother of the preſent Prince, differing after the death of his Father, about his Guardianſhip, and conſequently of the Government of *Orange*, the *French* King was deſired by one of them (according to *Vox populi*) to reconcile them by taking it from them both, who being glad of the occaſion, readily beſieged it, and in a ſhort time reduced the Caſtle, the ſtrength of the place, to a heap of Rubbiſh (which was one of the ancienteſt, and of the kind, the beſt Fortifications in *France*) and ſo left the Proteſtants in caſe of Maſſacres, without any retreat, and at the mercy of the mercileſs Popiſh Church, whoſe impudence hath ſince been ſuch, as firſt to endeavour the overthrow of their priviledges all at one puſh, by that Principle, That

Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, nor Princes obliged to the observation of Articles, which they say were extorted from them: and when after so many Confirmations of their Articles in time of Peace, and the devesting those of the Religion of all means of defence, and thereby removing all grounds of fear of them, such Arguments could not be allowed; they cavilled at the Articles themselves, and by wrested and false interpretations endeavoured to ineffectuate them, in despite of their plain and indisputable sense, which is so clear, as takes away all ambiguity and doubt.

And now since the determination of the power of the Reformed, in the loss of all their Cities of security, their persecution hath proceeded from their Bishops (to whose order amongst the Papists Cruelty is annexed) who begun betimes, discharging their malice first against the City of *Pamier*, because far from Court, and so most easie for them to oppress.

The Bishop of this place forced the Reformed to abandon their ancient Temple within the City (for so the *French* Protestants call their Churches) which by ancient right and priviledges they did injoy, and to content themselves with a small House in the Country, distant from the Suburbs, making it Imprisonment with great penalties, for any Protestant Stranger to lodge one night in Town, though he came to see his Relations, or dispatch business, making it also unlawful to sing Psalms, some poor Artificers being imprisoned for the same, to the thereby exposing their Families to want and famine, through loss of their labour to maintain them. He also took away the very

very Patrimonies of many to give them to his lazy Convents, impriſoning parents, and taking away their children under age to bring up in his Idolatrous Religion, not regarding the Canons of his own Church which forbids ſuch violence, where neither the parents give conſent, nor the children capable of making their own choice; he maliciouſly deſtroyed the Wine-preſſes of ſome, the evening before their uſe, to deprive them of the Revenue that God and Nature had bleſſed their endeavours with, as a penalty for having lodged ſome Proteſtant Friends but one night, when ſurpriſed by bad weather (a ſmall offence to be deſtroyed for) not only prohibiting the harbouring any of the Religion, but alſo relieving any in their paſſing by, himſelf ſearching Shops for Apprentices and Journey-men of the Religion, to drive them away, denying them the common priviledges allowed all Strangers throughout *France*; and *Monſieur Burnet* a Phyſician, who having married a Wife from *Pamier*, coming but to Town to ſome Patients, for conſervation of their lives, was driven back with ſo many blows, that ſoon after he loſt his own; nay inſtead of giving obedience to the Kings Declaration and Decree for reſtauration of the Proteſtant Church, he called an Aſſembly of the Town, conſiſting of his own party, both Civil and Eccleſiaſticks, where himſelf preſiding, he cauſed to be reſolved in the Aſſembly,

Firſt, That if any perſon of the Religion ſhould dye in the City, or within his Juriſdiction, the Body ſhould not be buried.

Secondly, That no children of Proteſtant parents, born ſince ſuch a certain time, ſhould inhabit in the Town.

Thirdly, That none of the Religion ſhould keep any Proteſtant Servants, Men or Women, not born in the City within a limited term.

Fourthly, If any Maid or Widow married one of the Religion, they ſhould not live in the City, if not born in it within ſuch a time.

Fifthly, That none of the Religion one or other, if worth to the value of four thouſand pounds *ſtarling*, ſhould live in the Town.

Sixthly, That no ſinging of Pſalms, or praying to God by thoſe of the Religion, ſhould be ſuffered, upon pain of Impriſonment, and great penalties. And as a Seal to all this his malice, he pulled down their Temple without the Town, ſetting up in the place of it a Gibbet and a Croſs, with this Inſcription, *Either the Croſs or the Gallows*; and after all this, upon an Order ſurreptitiouſly obtained, with eight days warning only, turned all the Inhabitants of the Religion out of *Pamier*, to the ruine of many Families, reducing them, who before lived plentifully, to Beggery, and to ſave themſelves from ſtarving, to the living upon the Charity of others. Many the like Examples might be given, as at *Cere*, *Privas*, &c. but that they are grievous to relate.

This courſe it is probable had been followed in other places, but that it pleaſed God to put a ſtop to it by Changes in the State, which rendred the Reformed ſo uſeful, as procured them freſh Confirmation of their priviledges; but though notwithſtanding they were grounded upon the good ſervice they had done the King, yet in the Year 1656. there being an Aſſembly of the Popiſh Church-men, which continued near two years; they made it their greateſt endeavours to ſtir up his

his Majesty to War against the Reformed, who but a little before had preserved him against the designs of the Papists for destroying of him.

And to move the King to so ungrateful an undertaking, they, who are sufficiently lovers of money, offered him a great sum towards the War, seconding their request with a large Remonstrance drawn up against those of the Religion, stuffed with false suggestions and Calumnies, presented by the Archbishop of *Sens*, wherein to the rendring of their Cruelty very observable, they make the Collections of the Reformed, for the relief of five or six thousand poor, hungry, and naked Christians, driven out of *Savoy* in the last barbarous persecution, to be Criminal, although the King himself had in pity given them *Dauphinée* for refuge, ordering his Governours to receive and let them live, or at least weep and die in Peace, writing to the Dutchess of *Savoy* in their behalfs; and when Collections being made in *England*, *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, for them, even some (though few) Lay Papists, as I have heard, being moved with Compassion by a worse than cruel usage of them, contributed to their relief.

This Convention of Bishops not being able to bear the Kings Declaration in favour of the Protestants, ceased not working until they procured another from the King in opposition to theirs, dated the 18th of *July* 1656. premising that although the Edict of *Nantes*, made by *Henry* the Fourth, had been inviolably kept by the King without the least breach, until he had by Arms reduced to obedience those of the Religion which were revolted, yet having then deprived them

of ſome priviledges which had been granted by the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*, that the Edict ought not therefore to be otherwiſe obſerved, than according to the conditions and purport of the Edict, and Declaration made for the Pacification of the laſt troubles, whereby they not only overthrew at once all the priviledges granted them, and many times confirmed, but alſo ſet aſide all repealing of all the Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Rules, Articles, *&c.* which had at any time been made againſt them, and likewiſe even that Declaration of the 21 *May*, 1652. which acknowledgeth, that the Reformed had given ſuch large teſtimony and proofs of their affections and fidelity to the King, upon ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially in the late Civil Wars, meaning thoſe from 1649. until 1653. that he remained fully ſatisfied with them, ordaining in conſideration thereof, that they ſhould be maintained in the full and entire enjoyment of the Edict of *Nantes*, and particularly in the free exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, in all places where it hath been granted to them, notwithſtanding any thing whatſoever to the contrary; commanding the oppoſers thereof to be puniſhed and chaſtized, as diſturbers of the publick Peace, which had been enough to have ſtopped the mouths of any Biſhops, had they not been deſtitute of all Juſtice, Gratitude, and good nature, and that Tyranny had not been natural to them of the Church of *Rome*.

Upon this, thoſe of the Religion obſerving the deſign of the Biſhops, to be the deſtroying of all their rights and liberties, preſented a Paper to the King, humbly deſiring the pure and ſimple execution of the Edict of *Nantes*, as that which ought

ought to be the rule for the determination of all differences. To which the King gave for answer the 11th of *April* 1658. that he would send Commissioners of the one and the other Religion to the several Provinces, to inquire after all innovations contrary to the Edict of *Nantes*.

Now the Bishops made it first their work, to keep out by their influence, any such number of Commissioners of the Religion, as might signifie any thing, and secondly imposed in all places where they had power, their own construction of the Edict, and where they had none, did it, or at least in a great measure by sending memorials of their own sense and understanding of the whole matter, to those Provinces, as Rules and Directions for the Commissioners to act by.

Whilst Cardinal *Mazarine* was in being, who was honourable and generous, in a grateful remembrance of the good service the Protestants did from 1649. to the Year 1653. in keeping the Crown upon the then young Kings Head, and restoring of himself when the Papists would have turned them both out of Doors; the Bishops could not get forward in their design, but he was no sooner gone, than working upon the Prince of *Condé*'s Discontents, being incensed against the Reformed, for adhering to the King, and not to him in the late Civil Wars, to revenge himself he did their business in his Government of *Burgundy* and *Bresse*, especially in the small County of *Gay* near *Geneve*, where in the Year 1662. he demolished all their Churches, they in that Country being near all if not entirely of the Reformed Religion, and his Brother the Prince of *Conté*, following his steps, begun also to proceed severely

in

in his Government of *Languedoc*, but was soon after prevented by Death.

At *Rochell* four or five hundred Families were turned out of the City, by a wrested interpretation of the Articles at the reduction of that place, when to the honour of that Town be it remembred, there was not one Family (according to my Information upon the place) that would buy the Bishops favour, and therein a liberty of keeping their habitation in the City at so dear a rate, as the Renunciation of their Religion.

At *Sedan* another Protestant City, after a Jesuit who thought himself excellent at seducing of Protestants, and upon that confidence had sought the imployment, could not in some years, gain more to his Church in that place, than two men reputed Thieves, and one Woman a Common Strumpet, all which he bought with money; the Jesuits were then at my being there, brought in by force upon them, and part of the Revenue of their Universlity taken from it, to give to them for a foundation.

It is probable that the like proceedings would have been at that time all over *France*, had not the difference betwixt the King and Pope then happening, caused (according to the Maxim of the *French* Court, who always indulge the Protestants in time of danger) a relaxation, the good and bad condition of the Reformed in *France*, depending so much upon Peace and War, that without the latter, in which they may be useful to the King, they are always in danger of persecution, it being difficult for his Majesty, without such a plausible pretence, to resist the assiduous importunity

tunity of his bloody Biſhops, all the hard and unjuſt dealing that thoſe of the Religion have met with ſince the Death of *Mazarine* being imputed to their reſtleſs malice, the King himſelf not being in his own nature inclinable to perſecution, and the Queen his Mother, having been ever ſince the Year 1650. (when they did her ſuch great ſervice) thought to have had a kindneſs for them, upon the account of honour and gratitude, for that whilſt ſhe lived, the Biſhops could not fully ſatisfie their inordinate and revengeful Appetites, but ſince her Death, they have prevailed and gone far in it, common fame rendring their actions very unjuſt and mercileſs, in ſtripping the Reformed of their priviledges, which they have as good right unto by Law, as themſelves have to any thing they hold: but of the particulars, ſince the Queens Death, I can ſay nothing upon knowledge, having been ſo long a ſtranger to the Country of *France*; but for further ſatisfaction therein, I refer the Reader to the late Printed Relation of the ſufferings of the Reformed in *France*.

And thus you have a ſhort view of the condition of thoſe of the Religion in *France*, until the latter end of 1665. or beginning of 1666. that the Queen Mother departed this Life, when notwithſtanding all the contrivances againſt them, they were upon the multiplying hand as to number (increaſe being commonly the effects of perſecution) and in a better Eſtate than many other Reformed Churches at that day in other Countries, where they had formerly flouriſhed, as in *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, *Auſtria*, all the Emperours Hereditary Countries, beſide in *Piemont*, where they have of late Years (in all theſe Countries) been ſeverely uſed.

And

And now upon the whole, I cannot omit observing, that although the Papists do impudently charge the Reformed in *France*, with being disturbers of publick Peace, and Enemies to the State, they were never the cause of any troubles, or ever rise in Arms, except either for the just defence of their Princes, or for Liberty of Conscience established by Law, having been always faithful to their Country and Princes of the Blood, without attempting rebellious subversion of the Government or removal of the Crown, as the Papists (upon slight discontents) have frequently done, and had probably several times prevailed therein, had they not been prevented by the valour and loyalty of the Reformed.

Secondly, That the Proud, Mercileſs, and Bloody Principles of the Papists, and their Bishops, are so contrary to the meek and peaceable spirit, which our Saviour crowns with blessedness, as may well detect them of Antichristianism, and give sufficient caution unto all people freed from their Yoke to be jealous of them, whose doctrine and practice is breach of Faith and Massacres, or (according to the Prayer appointed by King *James* and Parliament, for the Fifth of *November*) whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, and whose practice is the Murthering of Souls and Bodies; which expressions were unhappily, as I suppose, forgot by our Bishops, in their framing of our last Service-Book.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF

So much as is convenient to be publiſhed, of the moſt material Debates and Paſſages, in that pretended Parliament or Aſſembly, Called by Richard Cromwel, *and begun the* 27 January, *an.* 1658.

THE over-ruling hand of Providence having upon the third of *September* taken away the late Uſurper, whilſt he was in poſſeſſion of the Title of Protector of the Common-Wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, his Son *Richard* was the next day, by the Council at *Whitehall* Proclaimed his Succeſſor.

Richard (by the Authority thereof) did about three Months after, Iſſue out Writs for a Parliament to begin the 27 of *January* following, and the people, who in their diffuſive condition, are capable only of obeying their Superiors, and not of diſputing

diſputing the Legality or Illegality of their Commands, made choice of Members to ſerve in Parliament, who according to their Summons Aſſembled upon the day appointed.

When they were met, the pretended Protector ſent the Black Rod to let them know, that he was in the other Houſe (for ſo was that Aſſembly called, which was intended for the Houſe of Lords, and under that name it is in this enſuing Narrative mentioned) and deſired to ſpeak to them there; at which call, not above twelve or fifteen went out of the Houſe, though more that were not come in appeared before him; at which time, he made (beyond expectation) a very handſome Speech to them, exceeding that which followed by his Keeper of the Great Seal.

Mr *Chaloner Chute* was that day choſen Speaker, and after a Bill (left by the precedent Parliament unpaſſed) was (according to Cuſtom) read, the Houſe adjourned until the next day.

Then a Gentleman was complained of, for affronting two Members, and he Ordered to be brought to the Bar of the Houſe by the Serjeant at Armes. A private Faſt to be held in the Houſe, and the perſons to perform the Duties of that Day were appointed; and a Committee for Elections and Priviledges being Choſen, the Houſe Adjourned until the 31*th* of *January*, it being Cuſtomary, at the beginning of Parliaments, to give the Speaker a Day or two to ſettle his own Affairs, to the end that he may the better afterwards attend the Service of the Houſe.

The 31 of *January* the Gentleman that affronted the Members, was (according to Order) brought to the Bar of the Houſe upon his Knees, and for his

his offence Committed to the *Tower*, but in a few days, upon his ſubmiſſion, and at the Interceſſion of the Gentlemen abuſed, he was releaſed.

The firſt of *February* a Bill was brought in by one of the then Council, under pretence only of acknowledging the pretender to be Protector, but with ſuch words couched in it, as had no leſs in them, than the admittance of the then Chief Magiſtrate, and the perſons then ſitting in the other Houſe, unto the full Power, Priviledge and Prerogative of the ancient Kings, and ancient Houſe of Lords, which the Court Party deſigned to have carried undiſcovered.

The Bill was read without much difficulty the firſt time, which incouraged thoſe of the Long Robe, related to the ſingle perſon, to preſs for the reading of it again the ſame day, to the end, that being the next day read the third time as was deſigned, it might then have paſſed into an Act; but in oppoſition to that, ſome who were more careful of the liberties of the people, than thoſe of the Long Robe ordinarily are, moved, that according to Rule, in Caſes of ſuch weight, it might be referred to a Grand Committee of the whole Houſe, and when that would not be granted, that the ſecond reading of it might at leaſt be put off for ſome days, and liberty given in the interim to the Members, to take Copies of the Bill, that conſidering of the buſineſs, they might be the more prepared for the Debate; which was yielded unto, and the ſeventh of *February* appointed for the ſecond reading of it.

The ſtate of Major General *Overtons* ſad and deplorable condition was given at the Door, and at the ſame time the Houſe was Petitioned by his Siſter

Siſter for a hearing of him by the Parliament themſelves, which was readily granted, two Votes paſſing the ſame day in order to it.

Firſt, That his Keeper ſhould with all ſpeed bring him, with the Cauſe of his Impriſonment, before the Parliament.

Secondly, That a Frigat ſhould forthwith be ſent to fetch him from the Iſle of *Jerſey*, where he was then Priſoner. The Court at *Whitehal* was troubled at theſe Votes, but the Army having a tenderneſs for their Fellow Souldier, they durſt not oppoſe it, the Votes meeting in the Houſe with but two Negatives to each, ſo that about ſix Weeks after, he was brought to the Bar of the Houſe by his Keeper, who produced no Authority for his detainment, but a bare Command without any cauſe, expreſſed from the late Uſurper *Oliver*; whereupon the Parliament Voted his Impriſonment, Illegal and Unjuſt, for which there were theſe reaſons given upon the Debate.

Firſt, Becauſe no Chief Magiſtrate had ever power to commit any perſon by his own Warrant, for that, as they ſaid, ſhould it be otherwiſe, the Subjects might be without remedy in Caſe of wrong done them, which our Law ſuppoſeth Free-born Engliſh men cannot be.

Secondly, In that there was no cauſe for his Impriſonment expreſſed in the Warrant.

Thirdly, Becauſe according to Law no Freeman can be baniſhed but by Act of Parliament, whereas ſending Priſoners to *Jerſey*, which was ſaid to be out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, was adjudged a baniſhment contrary to Law, and therefore he was Voted to be releaſed from his Impriſonment, without paying any Fees or Charges.

The

The fifth of *February* a perſon who had ſat in the Houſe ſome days, being found to be no Member, was for his offence therein Committed to *Newgate*, and not to the *Tower*, though accounted the Parliaments Priſon; and that partly, becauſe the Lieutenant, after the Examples of his Predeceſſors, exacted great Fees without any Authority in Law, which the Parliament intended to regulate and prevent for the future, as being a great grievance; and partly for that upon inquiry, the Offender was found to be under ſome degree of diſtraction, which made his Impriſonment not above a day or two.

Upon the 7th of *February* (the day appointed) the Bill for Recognizing the Pretender, was read the ſecond time, and the Debate begun; the Court Party pleaded the Inſtrument called the Petition and Advice, made by one of *Olivers* Parliaments, as the foundation of his Title, but the Country party denied it to be a Law, and that not only from the inconſiſtency, lameneſs, and inſufficiency of it, but alſo from the corrupt manner of procuring it, that Aſſembly that made it, being no Parliament but a Faction, in that the Members were never ſuffered to meet, but ſo many of them kept out by force, and that even by him that called them, as he judged would hinder the Execution of his will: beſides, that at the Creation of the Monſter, there was of four hundred and ſixty Members which were choſen, but one hundred and four in the Houſe; whereof fifty one were againſt it, and but fifty three for it, among whom were *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members, who had no right to ſit, but were Uſurpers in making Laws for *England*; ſhewing further, that if Pope

Alexander the ſixth, *Ceſar Borgias*, and their Cabal, had all laid their Heads together, they could not have framed a thing more dangerous and deſtructive to the liberty of the people, than is the Petition and Advice in ſeveral particulars, as in ſetling ſo great a Revenue upon the Pretender, that a frugal perſon might in a few Years heap up all the treaſure of the Nation in his own Coffers, and ſo bring the people to ſell him their Land for money, as the Egyptians did theirs, in time of ſcarcity to *Pharaoh* for Corn; beſides, that in giving the Purſe of the People to the Chief Magiſtrate, they give away all the ſecurity they have for their Rights and Liberties, becauſe having the Purſe, he hath power to raiſe what Forces he pleaſeth, and having that, all bounding him ſignifies no more, than binding a Lyon with paper Chains.

But the Court being reſolved of no leſs than a Turkiſh Power, would ſuffer no ſtrength of reaſon to prevail with them, to the making the Petition and Advice Unauthentick; but as it had force for its original, ſo it muſt have the ſame in the allowance of it for a good Law; which provoked the Country party to demand a proof of the purſuance of that Law, in the Pretenders Election, and that his Deſignation was according to the directions of it.

But though this was preſſed by perſons of great Abilities, never any anſwer was given to it, the Court party knowing that by the ſtrength of their Members they could over-rule the ſtrength of reaſon; but thoſe for the Country, taking the others ſilence in the point of proving the Deſignation, to be a granting that there was none at all, argued, that if the Election of *Richard* was void, and that

that Providence had prevented the Uſurper *Oliver* of keeping to the Petition and Advice, in appointing during his Life his Succeſſor; the Law was thereby fallen to the ground, and all Government reverted to its original the people, who ought by their Repreſentatives Aſſembled in Parliament to beſtow it as they ſhould think fit, which would then have been readily given by moſt of thoſe then preſent, to the Gentleman in poſſeſſion, if he and his Party would upon thoſe terms have accepted of it, as they refuſed it, leſt by owning the Parliament to be the Creator of the Government they ſhould own a power in them to deſtroy their own Creature when they pleaſed, which they were not for in *Cromwels* Caſe, though ſome of them had made the ſame thing the ground of their fighting in another Caſe.

This Debate, no man ſpeaking twice to the matter, held eight whole days ſucceſſively, in which time, great excellency and good affections appeared in ſeveral Gentlemen, in their Speeches for the good of the Nation, yet the beſt they could bring this Debate unto, was to conclude with the two following Votes, as previous to the Commitment of the Bill.

Monday 14 *Feb.* 1658.

Reſolved, that it be part of this Bill, to Recognize and declare his Highneſs *Richard* Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and Chief Magiſtrate of the Common Wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominion and Territories thereunto belonging.

Reſolved, that before this Bill be Committed, this Houſe do declare ſuch additional Clauſes to be

part of this Bill, as may bound the Power of the Chief Magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament, and Liberties and Rights of the People; and that neither this, nor any other previous Vote, that is or ſhall be paſſed in order to this Bill, is or ſhall be of force or binding unto the People, until the whole Bill be paſſed.

This laſt previous Vote paſſed the Houſe without any Negative, more than that of the Secretary of State; but the Courtiers no ſooner knew the ſenſe of *Whitehall* upon it, than from that time forward, they owned themſelves ſuch ſlaviſh Executioners of the Pretenders Will and Luſt, that they never appeared in the leaſt for the making good one word of it, thongh ſo neceſſary at that time for the good of the Nation.

During this Debate ſeveral Complaints were made reflecting upon the Court deſigns; as firſt, that the Aſſizes without Preſident (upon no greater occaſion) were put off to the common wrong of the whole Nation, and therefore to the end that the people might receive no prejudice by the ſitting of the Parliament (as the Courtiers were ſuſpected to deſign, to the end to make them out of love with Parliaments) it was deſired, that the Pretender might be moved to Command the carrying on of the Aſſizes; but the Courtiers being reſolved not to loſe ſo conſiderable a part of their ſtrength as the Lawyers, they would have the whole Nation to ſuffer in the want of Juſtice, rather than they would want one of their Members.

Secondly, That *Whitehall* had writ eighty Letters for the making Members of Parliament, many

many of which had had their effect. That Mr. *Howard* a Papiſt had boaſted, that at the inſtance of the Pretender and his Secretary, he had ſent twenty Members to Parliament. That ſeveral Tables were kept at *Whitehall* at the charge of the publick, on purpoſe to debauch Members by great Entertainments, all which were acknowledged and declared to be againſt the Orders of the Houſe; and further, that it is ſo, for any Member, not a menial Servant, to do ſo much as to go to *Whitehall* during the ſitting of the Parliament.

After this the Secretary gave an account of Foreign Affairs, acquainting the Houſe with a great Sum that was needful for defraying the Naval expences for this next Summer, which gave occaſion to the Country-party to bring on in behalf of the publick, a Debate concerning the Navy, wherein arguing, that as the Navy is part of the Militia, and the Militia the then right of the people Aſſembled in Parliament, and that without the Militia the Parliament could not make good their promiſes to the people, in bounding the power of the Chief Magiſtrate, moved, that the Houſe would appoint certain Commiſſioners for management of the Naval Forces.

The Debate for ſetting forth a very conſiderable Fleet to Sea, for the honour and defence of the Commonwealth and Commerce, held not long, the thing being readily agreed unto by all parties, but who ſhould manage the Fleet was a Debate of ſeveral days, and at laſt carried with a ſtrong hand by the Courtiers, that the Pretender ſhould have the diſpoſal of it; all that the Country-party could get into the queſtion being,

that the making Peace and War ſhould be reſerved unto the Parliament.

After this the Houſe fell upon the Conſideration of the Commiſſion, that ſhould be given to the Admiral, that was to go for the *Sound*, in reference to the difference betwixt the two Crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

The Court-party was for joyning with the latter, for the running down of the former, under pretence of revenging the affronts and injuries offered this Nation by the *Dane*, in that time called the Commonwealth, when indeed the true reaſon was in favour of the *Swede*, who was then in a cloſe and ſtrict League with them: but though the Country-party did agree, that publick offences ought to be publickly reproved and puniſhed; yet when that could not be done without danger to the general Affairs of *Europe*, as well as to the particular of *England*, in overthrowing the balance to both, by hazarding the giving the ſole Dominion of the Baltick to one ſingle Prince, whereas it is now divided amongſt many, they (being governed by publick Intereſt more than private revenge) were for acting a Neutral part, in endeavouring an equal Agreement betwixt the two Kings, which advice was followed.

Mr. *Portman*, a Priſoner in the *Tower*, was upon his Petition brought before the Houſe, with the Cauſe of his Impriſonment, the Warrant to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* for apprehending him was produced, and being only from the Uſurper *Oliver*, in theſe words, *(viz.)*

Sir, *I deſire you to ſeize Major General* Harriſon, *Mr.* Carew, *Mr.* Portman, *&c. do it ſpeedily, and you ſhall have a Warrant after you have done.* The

Parlia-

Parliament Voted his Impriſonment Illegal, Unjuſt, and Tyrannical, and freed him out of priſon without paying Fees or Charges.

This Vote troubled the Courtiers very much, ſome of them out of zeal to the reputation of their Idol (the deceaſed Uſurper) oppoſing it with tears; but ſeveral other Complaints of a higher nature, as for Baniſhments, and ſelling of Gentlemen to the *Barbadoes* came before the Houſe, wherein they were hindred the doing of any thing, for prevention of the like in the future, by their ſudden diſſolution, though an eminent Serjeant at Law was ordered to bring in a Bill for that purpoſe.

The accounts of the Commonwealth was called for, and a Committee appointed to examine them, and report the ſtate of them to the Houſe.

The Houſe was called upon by the Country-party to make good their Vote, for bounding the power of the Chief Magiſtrate, ſecuring the Rights, Liberties, and Priviledges of the Parliament and People, and that as they had filled the hearts of all men with joy, in hopes of having their Rights aſcertained, ſo it was moved, that they might not render themſelves Juglers, in promiſing what they never intended to perform; but to take the ſeveral parts of the previous Vote into conſideration: and as bounding the Chief Magiſtrate is firſt in order, ſo to begin with it; yet ſuch was the diſingenuity of the Court-party, being made up of Houſhold-Servants, Officers, Suiters for Offices, Lawyers (the corrupt part of whoſe Trade cannot be maintained but by a corrupt Government) *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members, choſen by the Pretenders Intereſt, that no arguments

of Honour or Honesty could ingage them to be faithful to their Country; such as were most open confessing plainly, that they were so far from bounding the Chief Magistrate, that they desired to give him as much Power as any King or Prince of *England* ever had; but others more prudent waved bounding of the Chief Magistrate, under pretence of first setling the Constitution of the Government, and so leaving the other dispute, and falling upon the Debate of that, after some days spent in it, it was at last Voted, that it should be part of the Bill for Recognizing the Protector, to declare the Parliament to consist of two Houses.

After this the House was again put in mind of their duty to the people, and urged to fall upon bounding of the Power of the Chief Magistrate, which as it was first in order, so ought to have been first in Debate; but the Courtiers commanding all by the strength of their Members, waved the Chief Magistrate, and fell upon the Constitution of the other House, in which some days were spent in disputes betwixt the new and old Royalists, the Commonwealth-men remaining silent, to see what the strength of the others brains would produce; the first was for the new Created Lords with a mixture of the old, upon such limitations as they might not over-top the new; the other for the old Lords with a mixture of the new, and for the full Priviledges of the ancient House of Peers; but after it appeared, that they could not make any thing of the Debate, neither of the parties daring to trust the other; the third party fell in, and shewed, That where the cause is taken away the effect must cease;

ceaſe; and that as the Houſe of Lords had anciently a natural Right to a ſuperiour Juriſdiction, in that Dominion will naturally follow Propriety, and their Propriety was then three parts of four, if not more, of the whole Nation; ſo it is now more natural for the Commons to have that Superiority, their proportion of propriety being now near ninety parts of a hundred, as by the ſale of the Kings, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, with Delinquents Eſtates, it might be calculated, and therefore moved, That if they would have another Houſe, it might be ſo bounded, as might ſuit with the peoples Intereſt: whereupon they proceeded to the Debate of the bounds and powers of the Members ſitting in the other Houſe of Parliament, in which ſome days were ſpent, beginning

Firſt, With making them Members but for life. Secondly, With proving that the ancient Houſe of Lords had no Judicial Power over Commoners, nor other Juriſdiction than in matters concerning their own Priviledges, in Impeachments brought to them by the Houſe of Commons, and in Writs of Errour, more power being inconſiſtent with the Common Law, which is againſt Hereditary Judges; for that the Lord of a Mannor by the Common Law, cannot conſer the Stewardſhip of his Courts, upon any perſon for him and his Heirs Male for ever. Thirdly, With having the Members which ſhould be called to the other Houſe, firſt allowed and approved of by the Commons in Parliament before they be ſuffered to ſit. And Fourthly, In their having Negatives but in ſome matters, and not in all. But after much time ſpent upon this ſubject, the

Courtiers

Courtiers being the ſtronger party, they moſt diſingenuouſly laid all aſide, and inſtead of bounding and approving of the other Houſe, the bare queſtion was brought on foot, whether the Members ſitting in the other Houſe, as then Conſtituted, ſhould be tranſacted with or no, thereby to let them at once into the full priviledges of the ancient Lords: and to make it paſs the ſmoothlier, a plauſible Clauſe to ſave the Rights of the ancient Peers was added by the Courtiers, which they did only thereby to gain the old Royal party to joyn with them in that Vote, and not with any intent to let in the old Lords, they afterwards confeſſing, that the Rights of the ancient Peers could be nothing, ſo long as the Act for taking of them away was in being and Unrepealed.

Againſt acting with the Members ſitting in the other Houſe, as then Conſtituted, was alledged the inconſiſtency of it with the Rights and Liberties of the people, which they had ſworn to maintain, as,

Firſt, Becauſe they were moſt of them dependants upon the ſingle perſon, by way of Sallaries or Offices, and ſo conſequently his Mercenaries or Journey-men.

Secondly, For that the Militia both by Sea and Land was in the hands of the perſons then ſitting in that Houſe.

Thirdly, That all the Chief Judges were Members, as the three Keepers of the Great Seal, the two Chief Juſtices, the Maſter of the Rolls; and that it might well be thought, that the Lord Chief Baron would afterwards be accounted as worthy to be one as the reſt, and then the people in all Caſes of Appeals, could do no more than appeal from

from the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to the ſame perſons ſitting in Parliament; and that the Chief Judicature being in that Houſe, and having the Militia to maintain it, that Houſe would have it in their power to oppreſs the Commons as they pleaſed, and they left without remedy.

Fourthly, That all the Privy-Council, the Chief Judges, and general Officers, both by Sea and Land, being Members of the other Houſe; the Lawyers and Officers enjoying Offices of profit (of whom the Body of the Houſe of Commons would be made) would be the Creatures of the other Houſe, and ſo make the Houſe of Commons to be no better than Janizaries, and Executioners of the will and pleaſure of thoſe of the other Houſe. But notwithſtanding theſe, and many more excellent Arguments, incomparably preſſed by perſons of great Vertue and Abilities, the ſervile and mercenary Court-party would not be prevailed with, to bound and approve the Members ſitting in the other Houſe, before they put it to the Vote for tranſacting with them, which made the Country-party immediately, as the queſtion was coming on, to except againſt the Conſtitution of the Houſe, as having ſixty perſons in it ſent by *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which had no Right nor Title to ſit; which they brought in Debate to gain time, as being afraid to adventure the queſtion for tranſacting with the other Houſe, without firſt bounding and approving the Members of that Houſe.

With this new ſtarted exception (which afterwards held fourteen days Debate) the Houſe riſe, and the next day Mr. *Chute* (their worthy and impartial Speaker) finding himſelf indiſpoſed, and

tired

tired out with long Debates and late ſitting, deſired to be diſmiſſed the Service; but the Houſe having a great value for him, would not accept of his Reſignation, but diſpenſed with his attendance until he ſhould recover his health, by withdrawing into the Country or otherwiſe, as he ſhould think it, and to ſupply his place in the mean time, Mr. *Longe*, Recorder of *London*, was made choice of. But it pleaſed God to put a period to the days of both theſe Speakers before the end of the Parliament, taking away the latter firſt, in whoſe room, as ſtill ſupplying Mr. *Chutes* place, was Elected Mr. *Bamfield*, Mr. *Chute* being yet living, though he lived not to come any more unto the Houſe.

The Debate concerning the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members came on, which run ſeveral ways; the Courtiers, after they found the want of Law, made prudence their refuge, arguing, That for the obliging the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Nations their Members ought to be admitted; to which was anſwered, That nothing could be more provoking to thoſe two Nations, than fraudulently to give them the name of having Members in Parliament, when in truth by their late Elections, they had few or none, moſt of them being Choſen at *Whitehall*, whereof ſome had hardly been ever nearer *Scotland* than *Grays-Inn*. But beſide this anſwer to the Courtiers Argument of Prudence, the Country-party argued againſt their ſitting, as having no legal Title or Right to ſit, and that without keeping to legal Rules, Foundations could not be maintained; for that otherwiſe, thoſe that ſent ſixty now might ſend three hundred next time, and ſo make Parliaments of ſuch number and temper,

as

as ſuited beſt with their deſigns; and therefore moved, that the Members of both Nations might withdraw, and be after (if a way could be found out for it) brought in more legally.

But the Courtiers knowing that there would be want of Law in the introducing of them if they ſhould withdraw, would not conſent thereunto; for being reſolved not to part with any of their ſtrength (though after they had ſerved themſelves of them, they intended to have caſt them off) would have nothing to do with Law or Right; but whereas the queſtion ſhould have been, whether the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members had any legal Right to ſit, the words *Legal Right* were by a previous Vote thrown out, which then cauſed the Country Party (for preventing the main queſtion) to except againſt the whole Conſtitution of the Parliament, as (according to the Courtiers own Law) illegal, for that in calling of it, they ought either to have kept to the ancient Law of *England*, or to their own new Law (the Petition and Advice) But to the old Law, in ſetting up of *Richard* they could not keep, that affording them no Authority, and therefore as to his Election, they made the Petition and Advice their refuge, but durſt not truſt to it in calling of the Parliament, becauſe that placing the Elections of *England* moſt in the Counties where the Court could not rely upon the getting in their Creatures, they had for the Engliſh Elections recourſe to the old way of Burroughs; ſo that the Members for *England* had the old Law for their foundation, and the Pretender for himſelf, and his *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members, a new Law (*viz*) the Petition and Advice.

The

The first being Chosen after the ancient way of *England*, and the latter after a new way. But *Richard* pretending to be Protector by a new Law, had no power to call a Parliament otherwise than according to that Law by which he pretended to be Protector. For the Title of Protector, and the Constitution of Parliaments, were by the Petition and Advice made Relatives, which could not be separated; so that consequently, the Members for *England* not being called by that Law, by which he derived his power that called them, they were not according to the Usurpers own Law, either legal Members or a Parliament, For admitting the Petition and Advice to be a Law, then the ancient way of Elections was out of Doors, and if no Law, then *Richards* Protectorship, and the right of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members were out of Doors. But although all this, and much more was sufficiently argued, to prevent the question and prove the illegality of the Parliament, yet the question was at last brought barely on, whether the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members should sit or not; and by the help of their own Votes (who were, contrary to Common Justice and right reason, suffered to Vote in their own Case) it was carried in the affirmative, that they should sit in Parliament.

After this, the main question for transacting with the other House, before bounded or approved (which had been interrupted by the Debate about the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members) came on again. It was endeavoured to get these words into the question, (*viz.*) *The Members being first bounded and approved of.* But they were thrown out by a Vote, and the bare question put, whether they

they ſhould be tranſacted with or no, as then Conſtituted; all that the Country Party could get into the queſtion, being, to tranſact with them during this preſent Parliament. And then by the help of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Votes (by whoſe number all queſtions were carried in favour of the Court) it was reſolved, to tranſact with the perſons then ſitting in the other Houſe of Parliament during this preſent Parliament.

The report of the Committee concerning the accounts of the Common-Wealth was brought in; by it appeared much bad Husbandry, and ill Government in the laſt five Years; ſeveral Offices being Created to ſerve perſons and make Creatures, without having therein any eye to the publick; in ſo much, that whereas at *Cromwels* Uſurpation (reckoning the ready money in Caſh, the Armies paid ſome Months in advance, and ſtores newly laid in) he found (all Debts allowed for) ſeven hundred thouſand pounds (at leaſt) before-hand, he was now (or at leaſt would be before any money could be raiſed) according to Mr Secretaries Calculation, two Millions in Debt, ſo greatly Chargeable had his *Jamaica* Expedition, and joining with *France* againſt *Dunkirk* been. But it is to be preſumed, that the Debt was made greater than it really was, as a means to get the more money from the Parliament, not conſidering that their Argument from the greatneſs of the Debt for getting ſupplies, rendred the Government the more obnoxious.

The Lady *Mary Hewyt* Petitioned the Grand Committee of the whole Houſe for Grievances, againſt the High Court of Juſtice, for Unjuſtly taking away the Life of her Husband; but ſome Members

Members declaring themſelves concerned, and it being the Priviledge of a Member not to be Petitioned againſt any where but to the Parliament, the Petition was returned her with that intimation.

A publick Faſt throughout the Nation was Voted, and a Declaration for the ſame ordered to be brought in, in the names only of *Richard* and the Commons; but the Court Party, to the end to ingage the tranſacting with the other Houſe, brought in the Declaration in the form of a Bill, to be made into an Act, which cauſed the expence of ſome days, in debating in what manner and form to ſend it to the other Houſe, for that the firſt tranſaction would be the Rule for the future, and in order thereunto it was Voted,

Firſt, That the Commons would not ſhew the other Houſe any other reſpect than they ſhould ſhew to them.

Secondly, That they would ſend Members of their own to the other Houſe, and that they would receive no Meſſage from them, but what ſhould be brought to them by ſome of their own number; and this was all the Votes of publick concern, that was carried by the Country Party, during the ſitting of this Parliament; and yet the Courtiers, after they had Conſulted with *Whitehall*, were reſolved to have unvoted, and made it null and void, as envying the Commons ſo much Equality with their new made Nobility.

After paſſing of this Bill, and nomination of the perſons to carry it to the other Houſe, it came under Debate, what Ceremony the Meſſenger ſhould uſe at his approach to the other Houſe, and what Title to give them. Mr *Speaker*, My Lord Com-

Commiſſioner, and my Lords and Gentlemen were all ſeverally ſpoken to, but none agreed upon, the Courtiers haſte being ſuch, as would not let them ſtay the end of the Debate, but the perſon appointed to carry this Bill (for the Faſt) to the other Houſe, going away before the Houſe came to any reſolution, was by his own Party adviſed, to give them no title at all, which directions he followed, and ſo left the Bill with them, which was never returned.

During this Debate, ſome exceptions being taken at the unequal carriage of an eminent Member, he was accuſed of having had Conference at *Whitehall* with the Pretender, as that which was contrary to the Orders of the Houſe. This Charge put the Houſe into a great heat, ſome taking part with him, as others againſt him; and as the Courtiers were not only moſt in number, but alſo beſt at bawling, ſo they made the greateſt noiſe, until they obſerved undeniable truth in the thing, and then, as the Party Charging was ſatisfied with giving a ſharp reproof, ſo the Courtiers were glad to have it die.

Some deficiency was obſerved by the Court, in the Acts for forcing the payment of the Exciſe, and therefore a Bill was brought in by one of that Party, under a ſpecious pretence of ſetling it, but for ſuch a certain number of Years as the Parliament ſhould agree upon, whereas it was then perpetual.

This Bill after long Debate, was by the Country Party laid aſide, and a Declaration brought in by them to injoin the payment of the Exciſe during the ſitting of the Parliament; owning clearly and openly their deſign in it to be, that if

the Laws were not good, the aſcertaining the Exciſe no longer than during the Parliament, would put a neceſſity upon the Chief Magiſtrate to let the Parliament ſit, until they had done ſome good for the free-born People of *England* (for ſuch was the appellation then uſed) and if they were good, the Declaration did not prejudice them, but as the Country Party laid aſide the Courtiers Bill, ſo they laid aſide the Countries Declaration.

The Parliament fell again upon the accounts of the Common-Wealth, conſidering how to retrench the Charges of the Government, bringing the diſburſements not to exceed the income, raiſe preſent money for the Army by the Arrears owing the State, and other ways (if poſſible) without laying any new Tax upon the people, which the Country Party would fain have had, but in this they were interrupted by the Courtiers, who brought on foot, Firſt, To Vote all the Officers of the Army to repair to their ſeveral Charges. Secondly, That they ſhould not hold any meetings during the ſitting of the Parliament, but with conſent of both Houſes and the Pretender. Thirdly, That none ſhould be in Office, but ſuch as would ſubſcribe, not to interrupt either Houſe of Parliament in their Debates, *&c.*

Theſe Votes were ſent to the other Houſe, where they remained unreturned. The next day the accounts were a third time fallen upon, but interrupted again by the Courtiers, who brought on foot the queſtion where the right of the Militia reſided, with a deſign, Firſt, To Vote it in the Pretender and both Houſes of Parliament. And ſecondly, To Vote the Pretender General, knowing that in ſuch Caſe, the Parliaments Intereſt

eſt in it, even during their ſitting, would have ſignified nothing, and after they were diſſolved, would fall naturally to the Protector ſolely, becauſe no other power pretending to it would be in being; but in this buſineſs they could not come to a queſtion that Night, though ſtriven hard for by the Court Party, who was ſo eager upon it, that when it was deſired, that they would but Conſult the Declarations of the Long Parliament, and the Kings Conceſſions thereupon concerning the Militia, that ſo they might not raſhly give away from the people, what the King had granted to be their right, they would not indure the reading of them, leſt they could not for ſhame inthral the people after their eyes were opened, which they were reſolved blindfolded to do.

The next day, being the 22*th* of *April*, the Black Rod came to the Door demanding entrance, the Serjeant at Armes, who ſhould have done no more than acquainted the Houſe that ſuch a Meſſenger was at the Door, acquainted them with his Meſſage (*viz.*) that by Order of the Pretender, the Speaker of the other Houſe, ſent to the Houſe of Commons, to come with their Speaker to the Pretender and them in the other Houſe; which the Commons received generally with great indignation and ſcorn, ſome aſſerting with height and paſſion enough, that they were the Upper Houſe; and ſo without receiving the Meſſenger, the Houſe Adjourned until *Monday* the 25 of *April*, but the next day the pretended Protector diſſolved the pretended Parliament by Proclamation.

This is a brief Relation of the moſt material Debates of this pretended Parliament, many pri-

vate, and ſome publick buſineſs of leſſer concernment being omitted. And now upon the whole it may be obſerved,

Firſt, That though the Courtiers when ever they could bring a queſtion to the Vote, they had the Command of it; yet ſuch were the great Abilities of the Country Party, that even by the ſtrength of their parts and reaſon, they did for three Months together keep the Courtiers from ſetting the ſtamp of Parliament upon any thing, to the prejudice of the Nation.

Secondly, That all that *Richard* had to pretend to for his Protectorſhip, was a Proclamation ſigned by ſome of his Friends, Proclaiming him Protector, his Parliament, or rather the Aſſembly of the people called together in his name, having added nothing to his pretence, not having in the leaſt tranſacted with him, and his Fathers Deſignation not being proved, his Title to the Government, according to his own Law, fell to the ground.

Thirdly, That as the Court had by the advantages that follow the Authority of the Chief Magiſtrate ſo packed the Parliament, that the overruling Vote was at their Command; ſo the perſons of that Party were moſt of them of ſuch ſervile and ſelfiſh Principles, that they knew no Intereſt but that of the ſingle perſon and their own.

Fourthly, That all that the Country Party could do (though they ſhewed ſuch Abilities, Induſtry, and Affections to their Country, as is worthy for ever to be remembred) was to keep off Slavery for a ſmall time (in hopes that God would ſend deliverance) without power of doing any more good,

good, than in ſometimes getting a qualifying word into a queſtion: For had the Parliament ſat longer, the Country Party could not have preſerved the Liberties of the Nation many Weeks more from the ruine that the Courtiers had deſigned; and therefore the Diſſolution of them may well be looked upon as a great deliverance.

Fifthly and Laſtly, That as formerly in other Countries ſeveral Intereſts have been deſtroyed by their ſeveral endeavours to maintain the corrupt part of their reſpective Intereſts; ſo the downfal of this new Monarch proceeded from the ſame Cauſe. For would a moderate Power have ſatisfied his Party, it had for the preſent been readily given, thoſe for the Country being ſo low in their hopes, that they would have been glad of any indifferent terms for the good people of this Nation, for whom many and deep Pits have been digged; but the Lord hath, and I hope ever will deliver them out of all.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
LETTER
Written by the
Duke of *Buckingham*
TO
Sir *THOMAS OSBORN*,
Upon the Reading of a Book,
CALLED,
The Preſent Intereſt
OF
ENGLAND
STATED.

Written in a Letter to a Friend.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year 1689.

Obſervations on the Letter Written by the Duke of *Buckingham* to Sir *Thomas Osborn*, &c.

SIR,

SO ſoon as ſome indiſpenſible Occaſions would permit, I did at your inſtance, ſtrictly peruſe the *Pamphlet*, called, *The Preſent Intereſt of* England *Stated*; As alſo, the Letter directed to Sir *Thomas Osborn* in anſwer to it, and at your requeſt, ſhall now give you my Senſe of *both*.

I find no Cauſe, by the Scope of the *Letter*, to believe otherwiſe of the *Author*, than according to his own Profeſſions, that he really deſigns the *Honour*, *Greatneſs* and *Proſperity* of this *Nation*. An Honeſt and Honourable undertaking, the perfect diſcovery whereof, I wiſh may be purſued by Men of leaſure, and put in practice by thoſe of *Power*.

I underſtand the *Letter* to agree fully with the *Pamphlet*, in all its Maxims relating to our *Domeſtick Intereſt*, not differing neither from our *Foreign* in any thing, ſave what relates to *Holland*, and therein likewiſe, not in *all*, but only in *ſome* Particulars, but in *ſeveral* of them; I obſerve alſo the *Author* of the *Pamphlet*, to be by the *Letter* exceedingly miſtaken; for whereas *it* renders him ſo *Byaſſed* with *Affecti-*

on to the *Dutch*, as makes him overlook the uſefulneſs of *Foreign Alliances*. I cannot judge, but he grounds all he writes concerning *Holland*, upon the *Safety* and *Benefit* of *England*, inſomuch as it ſeems ſtrange to me, how a Perſon of that Candor and Ingenuity, as the *Author* of the *Letter* is, ſhould be ſo far miſtaken, as to inſinuate to the World, that the *Pamphlet* he anſwereth, pleadeth

Firſt, *For allowing all the Injuries and Wrongs done by the* Hollanders *to this Nation*, (Page 5.)

Secondly, *For ſtudying of their Intereſts, and loving of them; becauſe they are Traders, though by being ſo, they take our Trade from us*, (Page 5, 6.)

And Thirdly, *That their Parſimony is no good Reaſon for diſlike of them*, (Page 6.) As if all theſe were Arguments made uſe of by expreſs words in that *Book*, when I do not find any Expreſſions relating to any of theſe Particulars, that do either in words *ſay* ſo much, or will in the leaſt *admit* of any ſuch Inferences or Concluſions; (although as to this *Third*, if there were any word to that purpoſe, it might be defended.) For all the *Arguments* made uſe of by the *Pamphlet*, againſt the deſtroying of the *Hollanders*, are either upon the account of *Juſtice* and *Righteouſneſs*, (*which eſtabliſheth a Nation*) or clearly in reference to the *Safety* and *Utility* of this *Kingdom* both in *Church* and *State*, and not in the leaſt, upon any *particular Affection* to the *People* of that *Country*, as the *Letter* doth inſinuate the *Pamphlet*; being no otherwiſe concerned for them,

them, than as it is, for preſerving the Ballance of *Chriſtendom* in oppoſition of *Popery* and *Slavery*.

I find the *Pamphlets* commending the *Dutch* for their *Morals*, (compared with the *French*, &c.) to be anſwered by objecting, that if the *Author* had lain but one night in any *Inn* of *theirs*, he would have been convinced of the contrary, which implieth, that he had never done it, or at leaſt never told the World he had, and yet the *Book* juſtifies his opinion of *them* in affirming his experience, from having travelled *their Countries*; (*Intereſt of* England, Page 30.) and truly by his general knowledge of the *Netherlands*, he may well be ſuppoſed to have throughly done it; and granting ſo much, it conſequently follows, that he muſt then have experienced their *Inns*; but if from *Couſening* and *Cheating* in *Inns*, *Ale-houſes* and *Taverns*, the meaſures of a *Peoples Morals* muſt be Calculated; I fear ſome other *Countries*, by high *Reckonings*, falſe *Meaſures*, in *Bottles*, *Pots* and *Cans*, exceeding them, and tacitly allowed of, *&c.* will be found as faulty as they, and to lye (at leaſt) equally with them, under the burden of that uncharitable *Synecdoche*, of blaming the whole for a part; for I can my ſelf by experience, ſo far joyn with the *Pamphlet* in juſtifying of it, as to aver, That I never travelled in all my Life, in any *Country* ſo cheap as in *theirs*, and that no private Perſon doth otherwiſe, but either *voluntarily*, by being profuſe, or *careleſly* in ſpending more than he needeth, in not keeping to his Ordinaries, but living at large; for their *Rates* by *Land* or

Water, are ſo certain, that none can pay one more than another, and the like is in *their Inns*, for *Ordinaries* and *Lodgings*; inſomuch that I have often wondred their great *Trade* and *Populouſneſs* (which in all other places makes things dear) conſidered, I found living there ſo cheap as I did. But as no Number or Society of men, can be ſaid to be *perfectly good*, or *altogether evil*; ſo, the moſt juſt and certain Rule for applauding or condemning any *Country*, is not from *a few Inſtances* of a ſmall part of it, but by way of *Compariſon* with other *Countries*; and by that *Standard*, *Holland* cannot be found by much ſo bad as *Popiſh Countries*, where the *Doctrines* of the *Jeſuits* (which hath more or leſs an influence upon moſt of their *Religion*) of *good Intentions*, *Probability* and *Neceſſity*, &c. and of their whole Church, of *keeping no Faith with Heretick*s, &c. is inconſiſtent with honeſt Converſation, rendring them unfit even for one anothers Society, there being no Fence againſt ſuch Principles.

The Cruelty at *Amboina*, is (I confeſs) to be had by all in Abhorrence; but ſince it was *before* we were born, that it was acted but by *a few*, and diſowned, and not juſtified *at home*: That King *James* of Happy Memory, and his wiſe and excellent Council and Favourites, thought therefore not fit to *revenge* it; and that it hath ſince, by ſeveral Treaties, been buried and put in Oblivion; I queſtion whether we ought ſtill to *remember* it; but provided, that the conſtant Trade that the *Popiſh Nations* have (in all Ages down to our times) driven in *Maſſacres* and *Cruel Torterings*, and

that

that with the applauſe and approbation of their chief *Biſhop* and *Church*, as *Italy*, *Savoy*, *France* and *Ireland* do witneſs, may be remembred; I can be well pleaſed, that that ſingle Act at *Amboina*, committed by a *few Proteſtants* condemned by the reſt, and which is abhorred by the *Principles of their Religion*, may not be forgotten; and thereupon the whole deſigns of the *Pamphlet* and *Letter*, each ſeverally conſidered, I cannot obſerve, that they differ in any *Material* Circumſtance; but that both aim at the ſame end, the *Honour*, *Greatneſs*, *Proſperity* and *Safety* of this *Nation*, unleſs the *firſt* is too ſtraight laced in the Rules of Honeſty and Juſtice; believing (that though Intereſt rightly underſtood or miſtaken, governs all the World yet) that that Precept of *doing to others as we would have them to do to us*, gives no latitude to any *Country* to deſtroy *another*, to the end to increaſe their own *Trade* or *Greatneſs*; for were it otherwiſe, nothing could be more for our Security againſt *Invaſions* and the Profit of *England*, than to deſtroy in time the *French* in their Shipping, and thereby in their *Maritime Commerce*, before they are overgrown in *Strength* and *Trade*, in both, which from young *Interlopers*, they are in a ſhort time too much increaſed, eſpecially in our *Newfoundland Fiſhery*, where they have almoſt eaten us out, to the unſpeakable prejudice of the *Weſtern Parts*! though that *Trade* was once our *greateſt Nurſery* for *Seamen*, and might have been much more *improved*, and is of ſuch a *Nature*, as the *Dutch* were not capable of doing us much prejudice in,

or at leaſt as they never *attempted* to do us any.

The *Letter* reproves the *Pamphlets inviting all Princes into the Triple League*, ſcoffing at it as abſurd; *the League being now determined*, and to evince the Error, gives this account of the League: *That the* French King *being entred* Flanders, *with a very powerful Army, the* Kings *of* England, Sweden, *and the* States of Holland, *entred into a Confederacy, with deſign to force the* French *to make Peace upon ſuch Terms as ſhould be propoſed by them*, (and therein wiſely to prevent the growing Greatneſs of *France*) *and at the ſame time the* Confederates *made* Articles *amongſt themſelves, to help one another, in caſe any of them ſhould be invaded for having made this League, either by the* French King, *the* King of Spain, *or any of their Allies, and upon the acceptance of the Articles propoſed, the* Confederates *became their* Guarranty *or* Sureties, *for performance of them on both ſides.*

And now, this being the State of the Caſe, where the Abſurdity or Bull lies, in making no diſtinction between the *Triple League*, and the *Guarranty* of the Peace, is beyond my apprehenſion; for the *League*, as is confeſſed, being made to induce (that is to force) the *French King* to a Peace, (the *King of Spain*) who was Invaded, ſtanding in no need of Compulſion) and the Confederacy continuing for warranting of the ſaid Agreement (which in effect is no leſs than an honeſt and prudent *League*, for keeping the *French* within tolerable Bounds and Limits) and for the aſſiſtance of each other againſt any that ſhould endeavour

to

to revenge this Confederacy; the *Triple League* ſeems to me (as it is confeſſed by the *Letter* it ſelf, at the lower end of *Page* 15.) to be ſtill in being, and the Expreſſion to be as properly uſed as that of *Guarranty*, as being one and the ſame thing; for the *Guarranty* aiming at the ſame end the *League* doth, and being one Article of the Confederacy, the *Triple League* muſt be ſtill in being, as well as the *Guarranty*: And ſurely, it was the laſt *Seſſion of Parliament* thought ſo to be, when Money was deſired for maintaining of it. But this, *Sir*, is not worth contending about, for the matter being clearly laid down by the *Letter*, the judgment of it is left to your ſelf.

As I am no *Statiſt*, nor pretender to it, ſo it concerns not me to enquire further into the Articles agreed on by his Majeſty with the *Swede* and *Dutch*, than is made publick, nor in the leaſt to attempt the Cenſuring any Action of *State*; (for that ſhall always be Foreign to me) but yet I preſume I may without offence ſay, it doth not appear to me, as it doth to the *Author* of the *Letter*, that the *Emperor* and *Princes* of *Germany*, could not have been taken into the *Triple League* by the *Confederates*, without engaging to aſſiſt them upon occaſion againſt the *Turk*; for as we find that it hath been ordinary for *Princes* to limit and proportion their *Leagues*, according to their *Intereſts*, ſo it is irrational to do otherwiſe. And it doth not follow, that becauſe it is the *Intereſt* of the *Emperor* and *Princes* of *Germany*, to enter into a *League* with other

Princes,

Princes, for keeping the *French King* from unjuſtly incroaching upon his *Neighbours*, that therefore thoſe *Princes*, contrary to their manifeſt *Intereſt*, ſhould enter into a *League* with them againſt the *Turk*: But I Honour the *Author* of the *Letter*, for the care he expreſſeth to have for the prevention of *War* to this *Nation*, and for the reſt and quiet of the poor People of *England*, (Page 9.)

The *Pamphlet* not being concerned in the complaint againſt thoſe that blame the breach with *Holland*, becauſe of the *Tripple League*, I ſhall paſs that over, agreeing fully with the *Author*, that Self-preſervation is chiefly to be preferred, *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex.*

The *Author* of the *Letter*, in his treating of the *Intereſt* of *England*, hath ſeveral *Obſervations* and *Notions* deſerving conſideration, which I ſhall reduce to theſe ſix Heads following.

Firſt, *That our Increaſe in Power, ſince the time of Queen* Elizabeth *(of famous Memory) is not proportionable to the increaſe of the* Dutch, (Page 12.)

Secondly, *That the* Dutch, *being ſo powerful at Sea as they now are, may, by joyning with the* French, *(whenever they will agree upon it) endanger the Conqueſt of* England; *and keeping to themſelves the moſt conſiderable parts in it for Trade, being Maſters at Sea, provide for their own Security againſt the greatneſs of* France, (Page 12.)

Thirdly, *That it is not Wiſdom for any Nation to have its Safety depend upon the Prudence of another, as in relying upon its being againſt the*

the Intereſt of Holland *to Invade* England, *becauſe they may miſtake their Intereſt*, (Page 12.)

Fourthly, *That a Conqueſt of* England *being made, the* Dutch *Government being more eaſie and indulging Trade, than the Arbitrary and Severe Regiment of* France, *as alſo their Religion concurring more with ours than that of* France, *the Trading Party of* England *would be likelier to cloſe with the firſt than the latter; and for the like Reaſon ſhould* Holland *be ever in danger of a Conqueſt by the Conjunction of* England *with* France, *they would rather chooſe to become part of the* Engliſh *Government, than ſubmit to the Power of* France: *For that their joyning with us, and therein making it as much our Intereſt to promote their Trade, as the Trade of any other Nation, may anſwer that Objection,* That their fear of our obſtructing their Trade, will make them averſe to us, (*Page* 13.)

Fifthly, *That it is not probable, that the* Dutch *will ever agree to put themſelves under the Dominion of the* French, *who will not truſt them without ſuch Advantages as may compel them to obſerve their Promiſes, as the other will never give them ſuch a Power, leſt they ſhould make a corrupt uſe of it,* (Page 14.)

Sixthly, *That conſidering the Situation and Conſtitutions of* England, *a Coalition with us would prove more acceptable and advantageous to them, than any Terms they can expect from the* French; *and that ſhould we get no more than the* Maritime Towns, *and the* French *all the reſt of the* States Dominions, *we ſhould have no cauſe to repent our Bargain,* (Page 14.)

These *Notions* contain the substance of that part of the *Letter* which treats of the *Interest of England*; the *first* of which I must not at present deny, because the *Auxiliary* assistance which we have received from *France*, seems to make it good; yet the *Story* of 88. acquaints us, that the *States* in those times, with 35 *Men* of *War*, Blocked up *Dunkirk*, and the Duke of *Parma*'s *Navy* in it, to the great Service of *England*; but it is certain, that all *Nations* will increase, or decline more or less, according as their *Interest* is pursued, and their Government suited to it, which happily is the Cause, why none can be said to have out-done the States of *Holland* (their low beginnings considered) in increase in *Trade* and *Riches*; but if Augmentation in Territories, and Power be a Crime, it is one that *France* is more guilty of than the *United Netherlands*, and ought therefore to be looked upon with a more jealous Eye; for the natural advantages that we have of the *Dutch* in the Situation of our *Country*, and the greatness of it; in the goodness and number of our *Havens* and *Ports*, to breed *Seamen*, and harbour *Ships*, are such, as appears to me to render it impossible for them, ever to become our Superiors at Sea (*as is suggested by the Letter*, Page 11.)

As to the *second* Assertion, or Head, I must in that crave leave to dissent, without granting the question (which is begged) that *Holland*, whilst in Liberty, might be under a likelihood of agreeing with *France* for the Conquest of *England*, the thing seeming to me to be morally impossible.

First,

First, From their want of *People*, eſpecially fit for *War*, their *Dominions* being ſmall, and furniſhed much with *Strangers*, and altogether with *Traders*, Circumſtances which no *Country* muſt be under, that deſigns Foreign Conqueſts or Invaſions.

Secondly, From the Nature of their *Government*, in its being no more than an *Union* of ſeveral *Abſolute Sovereignties*, for common Defence and Preſervation, which is a Quality not fit for Acquiſitions, in that the Difficulty in ſatisfying every concern upon the good Succeſs of their Arms, and the many occaſions that would ariſe from thence of Differences amongſt them, renders it impracticable.

Thirdly, From the Impoſſibility of the *French*, and their *Agreement upon the Diviſion of* England; for that it is not to be imagined, but each of them would be jealous of the others *Increaſe in Territories and Power*, and that the *States* would have no more cauſe to preſume upon their over-witting the *French*, in getting to themſelves the moſt conſiderable places in it for *Trade*, (as is ſuppoſed by the *Letter* Page 12.) than the *French* in over-reaching *them*, who have always been wiſe enough in *Treaties*: For that an increaſe in the *French Monarchy* would be more dangerous to the *States*, than the like in the *States* would be to *them*, who are already the others overmatch; and it cannot with reaſon but be ſuppoſed, that in the *Diviſion of England*, the *French* would on the one hand have an Eye at ſupplying themſelves with that they only want, for making them uncontrolable in the World,

good

good Havens and *Ports*, and alſo on the other hand, that the *Dutch* would never yield unto that that would *deſtroy them*. But if *England* had reaſon to be jealous of *France* and *Hollands* Conjunction, in order to the Conqueſt of it, (as the Letter ſuggeſts:) I fear with the ſame reaſon *France* will be jealous of *England*'s impatronizing *Holland*, as being as well unwilling to have the *Dominion of the Seas* ſo much *undivided* in the hands of any *one* Lord, as all the reſt of *Europe* cannot check it, as *we* are to have the *Dominion* of the *Land* in the like kind under any other Lord or Prince.

To the *Third* Aſſertion, I have not any thing to object in oppoſition, nothing being more ordinary in the World, than *groſs miſtakes* in the *Intereſt* of Countries, proceeding often from *Paſſion*, *Revenge*, and *diſordered Affections*; yet this may be ſaid in the Caſe, that the *States* were ſuch great Maſters in the knowledge of their Civil Intereſts, that *none* might have been *Safelier* truſted upon that account than *they*.

To the *Fourth Head* or Aſſertion, I have only this to anſwer, That as it is natural for all Rational Creatures, of *two Evils* to chooſe the *leaſt*, ſo ſuppoſing that the *States* being reduced to a neceſſity of parting with their own Government, *will have the Election* of their *new* Lords in their own *Power*; and taking it for granted, that they are Men of *Conſcience* and *Religion*, I do fully agree with the *Author* of the *Letter* in his opinion, that they will in ſuch Caſe chooſe rather the *Engliſh*, than the Severe

Severe Government of the *French*, unleſs the conſideration (in their partial opinion) of who is beſt able to protect their Country, do not prevail with them, to *truſt* the *French* King in point of *Religion*; but I very much queſtion, whether it is not groundleſs to ſuppoſe, that any Nation being attacked by *two* great *Monarchs*, *will have* the *choice* of their own Maſters left to themſelves, by a *mutual Agreement* betwixt thoſe Monarchs, without which it cannot be. But I highly eſteem the *Author* of the *Letter*, for the true Senſe he expreſſeth to have of the *French* Government, from which the *Lord in Mercy deliver all other Countries.*

The *Fifth* Aſſertion, is a Suppoſition that the *Dutch* will have it in their *choice*, to truſt the *French* or not, and in *ſuch* Caſe I am of opinion with the *Letter*, that they will never do it, *Spain*, *Lorrain*, and the *Proteſtants* of *France*, being a ſufficient *warning* to them; but as Affairs now ſtand, I very much fear they will not have the *Election* of it in their own hands.

The *Sixth* Aſſertion, though as moſt *weighty*, deſerveth moſt *Conſideration*; yet for the *firſt* part of it, Whether *England* admitting the *Dutch* to a *Coalition*, would be of more advantage to them, than any Terms they can expect from the *French*. I will not diſpute, but am much of belief, that the *French* Councils, conſidering that they want nothing to facilitate their *univerſal* deſign more than an Intereſt in the *Northern* Seas, where they might Harbour and Form a *Navy*, nouriſh and breed *Seamen*;

and

and likewiſe conſidering, that the Maritime Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friezland*, would ſignifie nothing without *Trade*, but in danger of being ſwallowed up by the *Sea*, for want of Ability to maintain the *Banks* againſt it, nor *Trade* ſignifie any thing without Liberty; they would ſoon find it neceſſary as to their Intereſt, to wave the *French* Principles for *Arbitrary* Government, and to leave the *Dutch* in a great meaſure of *Freedom*, relying only upon *Citadels*, for keeping them dependent upon them, and forcing them upon occaſion to be uſeful to them, as judging *that* the beſt way to ſerve themſelves of them, leſt otherwiſe by *Severity*, they ſhould provoke the *diſperſing* the Inhabitants to *Emden*, *Bremen*, *Hambourg*, *Lubeck* and *Dantzick*, &c. the four firſt being *Imperial Free* Cities, and the latter the *ſame* under *Poland*; for *Arbitrary* Government, (that muſt be maintained by the Sword) and the idle Callings and rude manners of *Souldiers*, which are altogether inconſiſtent with, and *Enemies* to *Trade* and *Commerce*, will always cauſe *Traders* to change *Bondage* for *Liberty*, or at leaſt in hopes of better Entertainment, one *Country* for another, as did the Subverſion of the *Florentine* Government in *that* Country; and as they were preparing to do the like in *Holland*, when they feared the late *Prince* of *Orange*'s overturning *that* State; for the *Antipathy* betwixt *Merchants* and *Souldiers* is ſuch, that all Monarchs of *Trading* Countries have ever held it their Intereſt, to keep their great *Trading Towns* free from a *Mercenary Militia*, and it is exceeding difficult,

Opportunities, misimproved the Victory God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making Peace (without ever striking stroak) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal Terms with them. And immediately after, contrary to our Interest, made an unjust War with *Spain*, and an Impolitick League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom; and by that means, broke the Ballance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain* and *France*, which his Predecessors, the Long Parliament, had always wisely preserved.

In this Dishoneſt War with *Spain*, he pretended, and endeavoured to impose a Belief upon the World, that he had nothing in his eye, but the Advancement of the Protestant Cause, and the Honour of this Nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in Foreign Affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them.) For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish Prelacy, and the French Court Policies, could not but see, that the way to increase or preserve the Reformed Interest in *France*, was by rendring the Protestants of necessary use to their King; for that longer than they were so, they could not be free from Persecution; and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the Ballance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their King: But by overthrowing the ballance in his War with *Spain*, and joyning with *France*, he freed the French

King from his Fears of *Spain*, inabled him to ſubdue all Factions at home, and thereby to bring himſelf into a condition of not ſtanding in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the Perſecution that hath ſince been, and ſtill is, in that Nation, againſt the Reformed there; ſo that *Oliver*, inſtead of advancing the Reformed Intereſt, hath by an Error in his Politicks, been the Author of deſtroying it.

The Honour and Advantage he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a Foundation: For if true as was ſaid, that we were to have had *Oſtend* and *Newport*, ſo well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no proportion in any kind, to all the reſt of the King of *Spain*'s European Dominions, which muſt neceſſarily have fallen to the French King's ſhare, becauſe of their joyning, and nearneſs to him, and remoteneſs from us; and the increaſing the Greatneſs of ſo near a Neighbour, muſt have increaſed our future Dangers. But this Man, who through Ignorance is ſo ſtrangely cried up in the World, was not guilty of this Error in State only, but committed as great a Soleciſm in his deſigning the Outing of the King of *Denmark*, and ſetting up of the King of *Sweden*: For had the Sweeds but got *Copenhagen*, (as in all probability, had *Oliver* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of Conſequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzick*, (which by their then Potency they would eaſily have gained) of being Maſters of the whole *Baltick* Sea on both

both ſides, from the Sound or Mouth, down to the bottom of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*, and the Danes part of *Holſtein*, which would conſequently have been theirs (they then having, as they ſtill have, the Land of *Bremen*) there would have been nothing, but the ſmall Counties of *Oulden-burg* and *Eaſt-Friezland*, (which would eaſily have fallen into their mouths) betwixt them and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden* would on the one ſide to the North and North-Eaſt, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South and South-Weſt; and they two able to have divided the Weſtern Empire betwixt them.

And whereas it had in all Ages been the Policies of the Northern States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea divided amongſt ſeveral petty Princes and States, that no one might be ſole Maſter of it; becauſe otherwiſe moſt of the neceſſary Commodities for Shiping, coming from thence and *Norway*, any one Lord of the whole, might lay up the Shiping of *Europe* by the walls, in ſhutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell*, contrary to this wiſe Maxim, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick* Sea into the Sweeds hands, and undoubtedly had (though I ſuppoſe ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that ſucceeded him, the Long Parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it: For if he had underſtood the Importance of the *Baltick* Sea to this Nation, he could not have

been ſo Impolitick, as to have projected ſo dangerous a deſign againſt his new *Utopia*, as giving the opening and ſhutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant that this error is excuſed, by pretending that we were to have had *Elſinore* and *Cronenburg* Caſtle, (the firſt, the Town, upon the narrow entrance of the *Baltick*, called the Sound, where all Ships Ride, and pay Toll to the King of *Denmark*; and the latter, the Fortreſs that defends both Town and Ships) by which we ſhould have been Maſters of the Sound, and conſequently of the *Baltick*; but they that know thoſe Countries, and how great a Prince the Sweed would have been, had he obtained all the reſt, beſides theſe two Bables, muſt confeſs, we ſhould have been at his Devotion, in our holding of any thing in his Countries: And further, if the dangerous conſequence of ſetting up ſo great a Prince, had not been in the caſe, it had been againſt the Intereſt of *England*, to have had an Obligation upon us to maintain places ſo remote, againſt the Enmity of many States and Princes; and that for theſe Reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe the ordinary Tolls of the Sound would not have defrayed half the charge; and to have taken more than the ordinary Tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a general Quarrel upon us, from moſt of the Princes and States of the Northern parts of *Europe*.

Secondly, Becauſe the Experience of all former times ſheweth us, that Foreign Acquiſitions have ever been Chargeable and Prejudicial

dicial to the People of *England*; as Sir *Robert Cotton* makes it clearly appear, That not only all those Pieces of *France*, which belonged to us by rightful Succession; but also those we held by Conquest, were always great burthens to our Nation, and cause of much Poverty and Misery to the People. And it is not our Case alone, to be the worse for Conquests, (although more ours than other Countries, because of the Charge and uncertainty of the Winds and Weather in the Transportation of Succors and Relief by Sea, which contiguous Territories, which are upon the Main, are not subject to,) but the Case also of (I think I may say) all other Kingdoms. In *France* their Burthens and Oppressions have grown in all Ages, with the greatness of their Kings; Nay, even after their last Peace with *Spain*, by which they had given them Peace with all the World, besides many places in the *Spanish Netherlands* and *Catalonia* in to boot: Upon which the Poor People promised themselves (though vainly) an unquestionable abatement of Taxes; instead of that, they found their Pressures increased daily, and their King, though overgrownly Great and Rich himself, yet the People so Poor, that thousands are said to die in a plentiful year, for want of Bread to their Water, nothing being free there, but fresh Water and Air: For (except in some few priviledged Places) wherever they have the Conveniency, by their Situation of Sea Water, (lest they should make use of the Benefit of that which God and Nature hath given them, for saving the charge of Salt,)

every Family is forced to take ſo much Salt of the King at his own Rate, (which is above ten times the Price it is ſold for to Strangers for Tranſportation) as is judged they may ſpend in a year; the Lord deliver all other Countries from their Example. In *Sweden*, that King, Court, and their Military Officers, are the better for their Conqueſts in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Ruſſia*, and ſome places anciently belonging to *Poland*, but the Commons the worſe. *Spain* is undone, by the great number of People ſent thence to the *Weſt-Indies*, which hath depopulated the Country, *France* reaping more Benefit by keeping their People at home to Manufactures, than *Spain* doth by ſending theirs abroad for Silver and Gold. And now, though by theſe Inſtances it may appear to be the Intereſt of the People of other Nations ſo well as ours, to live in Peace, without coveting Additions; yet it is more our true Intereſt, (becauſe, by reaſon of our Situation, we have no need of Foreign Frontier Towns, our Ships well ordered, being better than other Princes bordering Garriſons) than any other Kingdoms, to neglect eſpecially *European* Acquiſition and Colonies, and apply our ſelves,

Firſt, To the improving of our own Land, of which we have more than we have People to manage.

Secondly, To the Increaſing our Home and Foreign Trades, for which we have natural Advantages above any other Nation.

Thirdly,

Thirdly and Laſtly, (By our Strength which Trade will increaſe) To make uſe of it, together with the helps that God and Nature hath given us in our Situation and otherwiſe, in keeping the Ballance amongſt our Neighbours: For if the Province of *Holland*, which is but Four hundred thouſand Acres of profitable Ground, is by the benefit of Trade able to do ſo much, as we experienced the laſt War; what might we do, if Trade were improved, who have much more Advantages for it than they have? I aſcribe what was done by the *Netherlands* in the late War, to the Province of *Holland*; becauſe, that though the Provinces are Seven in number, *Hollands* due proportion of all Charges, is 58$\frac{2}{3}$ in a hundred, to all the others 41$\frac{2}{3}$, of which 41$\frac{2}{3}$, *Holland* gets little more than 20 honeſtly paid them; inſomuch, that it alone may be reckoned to bear four Fifths in an hundred, to one Fifth that all the other ſix bears: And how Prodigious a thing is it, that *Holland*, no bigger than as before mentioned, ſhould be able to cope with *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that though their Charges in the late War was abundantly greater than ours, yet by their good Management, to be ſo little the worſe for it, that at the concluſion of the War, to have their Credits ſo high, that they could have commanded what Money they had pleaſed at Three in the Hundred, and all this by the meer additional Benefit of Trade and good Order; and how by *Cromwell*'s indiſcreet neglecting of Trade, and chooſing War when he was in Peace, did he

miſs the true Intereſt of *England*, as by his ill-founded deſigns, he did the Intereſt of the Reformed Religion: For if he had ſucceeded in his unjuſt Invaſion of the Spaniſh Territories in the *Weſt-Indies*, (as God ſeldom proſpereth diſhoneſt Undertakings) it being intended for a State Acquiſition, the Benefit would not have been diffuſive, but chiefly to himſelf and Favourites, and prejudicial to the People in general, though at the Expence of their Subſtance, the Acqueſts would have been made: For had he met with ſo much Succeſs in the gaining thoſe Countries, and in them, that Plenty of Gold and Silver as he vainly hoped for, we ſhould have been as unhappy in them (in the Depopulating of our Countries, by the loſs of the multitude of People that muſt have been ſent thither, and in impoveriſhing our Nations by the vaſt Charge of a continual War) as *Spain* is; and to no other end, than the making of him only Rich, able to Inſlave the remaining People, and to make himſelf Abſolute over them; for the preventing of which, in ſuch Tyrants as *Cromwell*, ſurely *Moſes* had an Eye, when he ſaid, that they ſhould not greatly multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as *Cromwell*'s deſigns muſt, to an impartial Judgment, appear to have been laid, ſome Diſhoneſtly, others Impolitickly, and all contrary to the Intereſt of the Kingdom; ſo the Iſſue of them was damageable to the People of *England*: As,

Firſt, In his ſudden making a Peace with *Holland* ſo ſoon as he got the Government, without thoſe Advantages for Trade, as they

who

who beat them did intend to have had, as their Due and juſt Satisfaction for their Charges in the War.

Secondly, In his War with *Spain*, by the loſs of that Beneficial Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by whoſe hands we drave (during the War) the greateſt part of that Trade which we had of it, with Five and twenty in the Hundred Profit to them, and as much Loſs to us.

Thirdly, By our Loſs in that War with *Spain*, of 1500 Engliſh Ships, according as was reported to that Aſſemby, called, *Richard's Parliament.*

Fourthly, In the Diſgracefulleſt Defeat at *Hiſpaniola* that ever this Kingdom ſuffered in any Age or Time.

Fifthly and Laſtly, In ſpending the Great Publick Stock he found, and yet leaving a vaſt Debt upon the Kingdom; as appeared by the Accompts brought into *Richard's Aſſembly*; which had (I believe) been yet much higher, but that they who under him managed the Affairs, were a ſort of People who had been long Diſciplin'd (before his time) to a Principle of Frugality, and againſt Cheating; though at Couſening the Poorer People, for their Maſters Benefit, ſome of them were grown as Dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of *Spain:* For beſides impoſing *Richard* upon the People, after his Father's Death, by a Forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when, by his Aſſembly, they were ordered to bring in an Accompt of the Receipts and Payments

of

of the Kingdom; they made about Sixty thousand Pounds spent in Intelligence, whereas it cost not above Three or Four thousand at most; and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

It is confessed, that *Oliver*'s Peace and League with *France*, was upon Honourable Articles; but as the tottering Affairs of *France* then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked than had; For *Mazerine* being a Man of a large and subtle Wit, apprehending the Greatness of *England* at that time, which was then dreadful to the World, and the vast Advantages *France* would have in pulling down, by their help, of *Spain*, granted him, not only any thing for the present that he demanded, but disregarded also, even his Parties making their boasts of the awe he had him under, considering, that when *Cromwell* had helped him, to do his work, in bringing under the House of *Austria*, and therein casting the ballance of Christendom on his side, he should afterwards have leisure to recover what then he seemed to part with: And though nothing is more ordinary than to hear Men brag, how *Oliver* vapoured over *France*, I do esteem *Mazerine*'s complying with him, for his own ends, to be the Chief Piece of all his Ministry: For by that means only, and no other, is his Master become so great at this day, that no Factions at home can disturb his Peace, nor Powers abroad frighten him; which is more than any King of *France*, since *Charles* the Great, could say:

And

And when his Neighbour Nations have (too late I fear) experienced his Greatneſs, they will find cauſe to Curſe the Ignorance of *Oliver*'s Politicks; and therefore, when a true meaſure is taken of *Cromwell*, the approbation that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Foundation in Senſe or Reaſon, but proceeding from Ignorance and Atheiſm: From Ignorance, in thoſe that take all that was done by him, as a Servant, and whilſt under the direction of better Heads than his own, to be done by him alone: And from Atheiſm, in thoſe that think every thing lawful that a Man doth, if it ſucceed to his Advancement. But they that ſhall take an impartial View of his Actions whilſt he was a Single Perſon, and at liberty to make uſe of his own Parts without control, will find nothing worthy Commendations, but cauſe enough from thence to obſerve; that the Wiſdom of his Maſters, and not his own, muſt have been that by which he firſt moved; and to attribute his former Performances, whilſt a Servant, (as is truly due) to the Judgment and Subtilty of the Long Parliament, under whoſe Conduct and Command he was. And now from *Cromwell*'s neglecting to live in Peace, as if he had pleaſed he might have done with all the World, to the great Enriching of this Nation: The improvement of our Victory over *Holland* in his Peace with them; His being the Cauſe of the loſs of our Spaniſh Trade during all his time; Of the loſs of 1500 Engliſh Ships in that War; beſides, by it, breaking the Ballance of *Europe*;

Of

Of the Expence of the Publick Stock and Stores he found, with the contracting a Debt of Nineteen hundred thousand Pounds, according to his own accompt, (which, for ought I know he left behind him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether so great, though made so to his Son *Richard*'s Assembly, as a means to get the more Money from the Poorer People:) And lastly, Of the dishonourable overthrow we met with at *Hispaniola*, it may well be concluded, that he laid the Foundation of our present want of Trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the reason why his Miscarriages were not sooner under observation, is, because our Stock of Wealth and Honour at his coming to the Government, being then unspeakably great, stifled their appearance, until having since had some unhappy additional Losses, they are now become discernable; as first Losses to a Merchant, who concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards discovered by the addition of Second Losses that sink him. When I contemplate these great Failings, I cannot but apprehend the sad Condition any People are in, whose Governour drives on a distinct contrary Interest to theirs; for doubtless *Gromwell*'s over-weening Care to secure his particular Interest, against His Majesty (then abroad) and the Long Parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious Ambition of acquiring a glorious Name in the World, carried him on to all his Mistakes and Absurdities, to the irreparable Loss and Damage of this Famous Kingdom.

To

To prove the Second Aſſertion, That *Oliver*'s Time was full of Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, I ſhall but inſtance in a few of many Particulars, and begin with *John Lilburne*, not that I think him in any kind one that deſerved Favour or Reſpect, but that equal Juſtice is due to the worſt ſo well as beſt Men, and that he comes firſt in order of time.

Firſt, *John* in 1649. was by Order of the then Parliament tryed for his Life, with an intent (I believe) of taking him away; but the Jury not finding him Guilty, he was immediately, according to Law, generouſly ſet at Liberty by thoſe that had quarrel enough againſt him. This Example in the Parliament, of keeping to the Laws in the Caſe of one who was a profeſſed implacable Enemy to them, ought to have been copied by *Cromwell*; but on the contrary, to ſhew that there was a difference betwixt his and his Predeceſſors (the Long Parliaments) Principles, when the Law had again upon a ſecond Tryal (occaſioned by *Oliver*) cleared *Lilburne*, the Parliaments ſubmitting to the Law was no Example to him; for, contrary to Law, he kept him in Priſon, until he was ſo far ſpent in a Conſumption, that he only turned him out to dye.

Secondly, Mr. *Gonyes* Caſe is ſo Notorious, that it needs little more than naming: He was a Priſoner at *Cromwell*'s Suit, and being brought to the Kings-Bench-Bar by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Counſel taken from the Bar, and ſent to the Tower for no other reaſon, than the pleading of their Clients Cauſe; an

Act

Act of Violence, that I believe the whole Story of *England* doth not parallel.

Thirdly, Sir *Henry Vaine*, above any one Person, was the Author of *Oliver*'s Advancement, and did so long and cordially Espouse his Interest, that he prejudiced himself (in the opinion of some) by it; yet so ungrateful was this Monster of Ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him both in Life and Estate, because he could not adhere to him in his Perjury and Falseness. The occasion he took was this, He appointing a publick Day of Humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all Gods People in his Declaration, to offer him their Advice in the Weighty Affairs then upon his Shoulders: Sir *Henry* taking a Rise from hence, offered his Advice by a Treatise, called, *The Healing Question*; but *Cromwell*, angry at being taken at his word, Seized, Imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that Sir *Henry* suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

Fourthly, In *Richard*'s Assembly, certain Prisoners in the Tower, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to *Jersey*, and other places beyond the Sea, complained of False Imprisonment. Their Goaler was sent for, and being required to shew by what Authority he kept those Persons in hold, produceth a Paper all under *Oliver*'s own Hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you Seize such and such Persons, and all others whom you shall judge dangerous*

dangerous Men; do it quickly, and you ſhall have a Warrant after you have done. The nature of this Warrant was by *Richard*'s Aſſembly debated, and having firſt *Richard*'s own Counſel's Opinion in the Caſe, they Voted the Commitment of the Complainants to be Illegal, Unjuſt, and Tyrannical; and that firſt, becauſe the Warrant by which they were Committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) Chief Magiſtrate, who by Law ought not to commit any by his own Warrant. Secondly, Becauſe no Cauſe was ſhewn in the Warrant. And Thirdly, (In the Caſe of thoſe ſent out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in Law is a Baniſhment) Becauſe no Engliſh-man ought to be Baniſhed by any leſs Authority than an Act of Parliament. And therefore, for theſe Reaſons, they Voted farther, that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty without paying any Fees or Charges, but the turning out, and puniſhing the Lieutenant by the Aſſembly (for obeying ſo unjuſt a Warrant) was prevented by their ſudden Diſſolution.

Fifthly, The Tyranny in the decimating a Party reſtored to common Priviledges with all others, and the publick Faith given for it, by a Law made to that end, by the then Powers in being, is ſufficiently ſhewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating Circumſtance in it, That *Cromwell*, who was the principal Perſon in procuring that Law, when he thought it for his Advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it: But to the Honour of his firſt Aſſembly, next follow-

following, it may be remembred, that they no ſooner came together, than like true Engliſh-men, who are always jealous of the Rights and Priviledges of the People, damned the Act of Decimation, as an unjuſt and wicked breach of Faith.

The third Aſſertion of *Cromwell*'s knowing no Honeſty, where he thought his particular Intereſt was concerned, is made good: Firſt, (though therein he miſtook his Intereſt) in his odious and unjuſt War with *Spain*, without the leaſt provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous deſign of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines, and becauſe he judged it for his Credit to diſguiſe his unlawful deſires, he proceeded in it, by imploying his Creatures in the City, to draw the Merchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to Petition for Reparations; but by a croſs Providence, his Project had a contrary Succeſs; for inſtead of anſwering his Seekings, the Merchants remonſtrated to him, the great prejudice that a War with *Spain* would be to *England*; and ſhewed, that that King had been ſo far from Injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance and preventing a breach with *England*, than ever he had done in favour of any other Nation. But when *Oliver* ſaw his Method would not take, he called the Remonſtrators Malignants, and begun the War of his own accord, in which he was highly ingrateful in deſigning the ruine of that Prince, who all along had been moſt Faithful to his Party.

Secondly,

difficult, if not Morally impoſſible for a Prince to advance *Trade* to any great *height*, where the People are under the awe of a ſtanding *Military Power*; and the *French King* ſeems to own the *truth* of *this*, in that finding the benefit of Commerce, he is even in *France* content that his *Trading Cities* ſhould be freed from *Souldiers*, and more gently uſed than the reſt of his Country; for ſo far as the Nature of his *Arbitrary* Government will permit, he ſtudieth all manner of ways to advance *Trade*.

As *Firſt*, By totally prohibiting ſuch *Foreign Commodities* and *Manufactures*, as his People are capable of making, ſufficient to ſerve his Country, as *Train-Oyl*, &c.

Secondly, By burthening *others* with high *Cuſtoms* and *Impoſitions*, to the end to incourage his *own* Artiſans and Seamen, thereby making the Trade of *England* thither very prejudicial to us, our *Tranſportations* hence being inconſiderable to our *Importations* thence; and as they *improve* in any Faculty, ſo they either *Prohibit* or *Increaſe* their Impoſitions, upon the Importation of the Foreign-made Commodities of that Faculty.

And *Thirdly*, As an Incouragement to Trade, the *French* King hath lately declared the Exerciſe of Commerce in a *Gentleman*, to be no prejudice to his *Quality*, having alſo erected an *Academy* for breeding his *Nobility* to Sea Affairs, and teaching them the Art of *Navigation*, &c. All which may well Alarm *England* to a *Jealouſie* of their Deſigns, as moſt dangerous to it, and to look upon the

French, as those Rivals, whom (if hatred be *lawful*, as the *Letter* in this Case seems to make it) we ought most to hate; for should they once come to *Vie* with us in *Trade* or *Naval* strength, we should find them to exceed all that ever went before them, in *Insolency*, *Injustice* and *Selfishness*.

And whether the second part of this Notion hath a good *Foundation*, which asserts, *That should* England *get but the* Sea Towns *alone*, *leaving the rest of the* States Dominions *to the* French, *we should have no cause to repent our Bargain.* I will not presume to *judge*, yet *this* I think *considerable* in the Case, that should the *Inlands* of the *United Provinces*, and with them all the *Conquered places* fall to the share of the *French*, as by the late published *Proposals* in *Dutch* (if true) they seem to pretend unto the *Letter*; then having thereby the command of the Rivers of *Rhine* and *Mase*, &c. together with *Sluce*, and the other Garrisons which shut up the Trade of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, they will have it in their Power to render all the parts of the Seventeen Provinces, which will remain to the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, of no more use to them, than they please to allow of.

First, Because the *Sea-Towns* of the *United Netherlands* cannot be divided from the *Inlands*, from which they receive their *nourishment*, nor deprived of the use of their *Rivers*, by which they drive their *Trades*, without utter *ruine* to them, and making them thereby an intolerable *Burthen* to their *Masters*.

Secondly,

Secondly, Becauſe the *Spaniſh Netherlands* will thereby be ſo invironed, or rather beleaguered by the *French* Garriſons and Forces on all ſides, as well towards *Germany*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, &c. as towards *France*; that having no means left them, for forming or maintaining an Army, (as any that know thoſe Countries muſt confeſs) they will always be at the *French King's* Devotion, and when aſſaulted by him, without poſſibility of contributing any conſiderable aſſiſtance to their own *Deliverance*, or to make the *Triple League* of any uſe to them.

Thirdly, Becauſe ſuch will be the enervated condition of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, that the King of *Spain* will be neceſſitated, as not being able to *maintain* them longer than the *French* will *permit* him, either to quit them voluntarily, or (if he can obtain ſo much *Favour*) to make an exchange or Sale of them to the *French* King, who then having *Flanders* and *Brabant*, (which he hath ſo long thirſted after) and all the *Rivers* belonging to them in his own hands, will aſſuredly, for the advantage of *himſelf*, and his *own Countries*, even in times of *Peace*, ſo *obſtruct* and *hinder* the Trade of the Maritime Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friezland*, (if in the poſſeſſion of any but himſelf) and in times of *War* totally ſhut them up by Land) as will reſtore *Flanders* and *Brabant* to their ancient Trade, and make a new *Holland* of them; which being in the hands of the *French*, will probably prove abundantly worſe to *England* than the old, if large *experience* of Injuries and Injuſtices, committed in

Trade by them againſt this Nation, may warrant a Concluſion; as by the Certificate under the Lord Ambaſſador *Hollis* his hand, (which I ſend you here incloſed) given upon an order of his Majeſties Privy-Council, Dated the 17*th* of *April* 1667. in the Caſe of Sir *Francis Toppe* and Company, doth for one inſtance ſufficiently appear.

Nay, ſuch is the *envious* care of the *French*, that no Nation ſhould *Get* or *Thrive* by *them*, that (as Mr. *Samuel Fortrey*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſties Privy-Chamber, reporteth in his Book Printed 1663: and Dedicated to *King Charles the Second*) not many years ago, they ſuſpecting (through miſtakes) that *England* had an advantage of them in their Trade for *France*, they were upon Counſels for *Prohibiting* all Trade with *England*, until upon a ſtrict examination, they found, that whereas *England* vented of their Commodities into *France*, not to above the value of *Ten hundred thouſand pounds per Annum*; *France* vented of theirs to the *Engliſh* *Six and twenty hundred thouſand Pounds*; and then finding that they had *Sixteen hundred thouſand Pounds* advantage in the Ballance, they ſoon let fall their deſign, though yet not without *burthening Engliſh* Manufactures with *New Impoſitions*, in ſuch manner, as might much hinder the vent of them in their Country. Mr. *Fortrey* in the aforementioned *Book*, doth not only recite the very *Ballance* of *Trade* it ſelf, which he affirms was preſented to the *French* King, to ſhew the advantage they have in their Trade with *England*; but alſo adds further, that hereby it

may

may appear, how insensibly our *Treasure* will be *Exhausted*, and the Nation *Beggered*, whilst we carelessly neglect our own Interest, and *Strangers abroad* are diligent to make their advantage by us.

And it is of no little consideration, that the French should so far *Overvalue* themselves, as to increase their Impositions upon Dutch Commodities, to a degree of Prohibiting them, and deny to the Dutch the like Power by theirs, as if they had a right to deal as they please towards other Nations, and yet none to do towards them (by way of Retaliation) any more than they shall think fit to give them *leave* to do; an overweening opinion of their own Greatness, which all Princes and States ought to be Jealous of, as not knowing where their Ambition will end.

And besides these things thus instanced in, we have great cause to take notice, that as the effect of the implacable Hatred of the French to our Nation, they cannot forbear in their Writings, to express their Inveterate Malice against us, as that Book called, *Le Politique de France*, writ in the year 1669. and Dedicated to the French King, is a pregnant Testimony, where no better *Epithets* are allowed us, than being *without Friends*, *without Faith*, *without Religion*, *without Honesty*, *without any Justice*, of *defying* or *provoking Natures*, *light* or *unconstant to the highest degree*, *Cruel*, *Impatient*, *Gluttons*, *Proud*, *Audacious and Covetous*, *proper for ready Execution and Assaults*; *but uncapable of managing a War with judgment.* With other such-like opprobrious and re-

proachful Expreſſions, beſides a Method propounded to be obſerved in order to the Conqueſt of *England*, Page 158, 159, 160, 161. enough to raiſe a lawful Indignation in all true Engliſh-men, againſt ſuch Inſolent Slanderers, who by their Impudence, endeavour to impoſe their own Characters upon us, contrary to the known experience of the reſt of the World.

And now, Sir, I have no more to add, than (all Circumſtances conſidered) my Agreement with the Pamphlet in this Principle, that while *France* is ſo Great as at preſent, it can in no kind be for the Safety of *England* to ſubvert *Holland* and *Zealand*, &c. which are properly called their Out-guards or Works againſt all Invaſions, and cannot be demoliſhed, or in the hands of the French, without laying *England* Naked, or at leaſt the more open to that Nation, and that nothing is more demonſtrable, than that ſince the United Provinces cannot ſignifie much without Freedom, they will under their own Government be of moſt uſe to all Chriſtendom, (ſave *France*, who only wants them as a Qualification for threatning, inſtead of courting their Neighbours) in maintaining the general Ballance of *Europe*, even as it was great Wiſdom in the long Parliament (for *the wickedeſt of men may have Worldly Prudence*) to joyn with *Holland* in the preſerving of *Denmark*, as neceſſary for the Ballancing of *Sweden*, when *Cromwel* (in his time) in revenge of manifeſt Affronts and hatred, had deſigned the ruine of the *Dane*.

And

And thus, Sir, having in Obedience to your Commands, given you freely my ſenſe of the Pamphlet and Letter, without varying from the matter in either; as it is in them reſpectively ſtated, I hope you will pardon any thing wherein I may differ with you in Judgment or Opinion; for I have this for my Buckler, that what I have writ is Truth, and that I aim at nothing in it, but the true Intereſt of the King and Kingdom of *England*, and Proteſtant Religion, denying that any can have more Cordial Affection for them, than my ſelf, who am *&c.*

April 17. *Anno* 1669. According to the Printed Copy.

IN *Obedience to an Order of Council of the* 16*th. preſent, requiring my opinion, what is fit to be done for relief of Sir* Francis Toppe *and Company: I do humbly certifie, that I have peruſed their Caſe, and find that they complain of great Loſſes and Damages ſuſtained in the Year* 1644. *whilſt they lived in St.* Malo, *from the* French, *by ſeizing their Goods in a time of Peace, in the very Harbours of* France, *whither they had brought thoſe Goods in a way of Trading, and where by ſeveral Treaties then in force, and by the very Law of Nations, (which gives a Security to the Perſons and Eſtates of all who reſide Peaceably within the Dominions of any Prince or State) they ought to have been Safe and Free from all Arreſts, the Owners not having done any thing whereby to Forfeit their Intereſt in them; which Courſe, if ſuffered, muſt needs be the Deſtruction of all Trade and Commerce between the two Kingdoms, as it is alſo very Diſhonourable and Injurious to his Majeſty, that the Publick Faith*

Faith ſhould be broken to his Subjects, who Trade under his Protection, by vertue of the Treaties made between the two Crowns; and it is much to be feared, that the Proceedings in France *may become very prejudicial in this kind, to the whole Trading of the Engliſh Nation in that Kingdom, if nothing be done to ſtop this growing miſchief: In regard this is not the ſingle Caſe, where this courſe hath been put in practice, the like having been done ſeveral times to Engliſh Merchants at* Rouen, *who are not yet free of the trouble; for a Capture at Sea, whether real, or pretended to have been made in* 1616. *by an Engliſh Privateer of a French Ship, belonging to one* Delauziay, *valued but at ſix thouſand Livers. And whilſt I had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, as his Ambaſſador in* France, *two Engliſh Ships coming into Harbour at* Marſeille, *when they had Landed their Goods, and paid all Duties, were ſeized upon, Ships and Goods, and notwithſtanding all my Solicitations, would not be diſcharged: But ſome Months after, the War breaking out, were given to the* Eaſt-India *Company there, they pretending ſome Ships of theirs to have been formerly taken by the Engliſh. And now, as I hear at St.* John de Liez, *the ſame Uſage is threatned, if not already begun, to our Merchants there, for the Reparation of the*

the Widow de Lazin, *for ſome Goods of her late Husbands, taken from her by the Parliament in* 1643. *So as all this makes me fearful it may come to be a conſtant Cuſtom, if not prevented. I do therefore offer it as my humble Opinion, that all care ſhould be taken for the prevention of it. And for this particular Caſe of Sir* Francis Toppe's *and Company, that in the firſt place a fair Application may be made to the French King, as well by his Ambaſſador here, as by his Majeſties Ambaſſador at* Paris, *for the juſt Satisfaction of the Petitioners, which may be hoped will prove effectual, and ſhould it not, it will then be time for his Majeſty to conſider, what is further to be done for the Vindication of his own Honour, and the Protection of his Subjects.*

HOLLIS.

THE

THE WORLDS MISTAKE IN Oliver Cromwel,

OR,

A Short Political Diſcourſe,

SHEWING,

That CROMWELL's Mal-adminiſtration, (during his Four Years and Nine Months pretended Protectorſhip) laid the Foundation of our preſent Condition, in the Decay of

TRADE.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year 1689.

THE WORLDS MISTAKE IN *Oliver Cromwell*, &c.

OF all the Sins that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of Idolatry, a Sin that may be towards Men ſo well as other Creatures and things: For as that which a Man unmeaſurably relies, and ſets his Heart upon, is called his God, even as that which he falls down before and worſhippeth: So when one hath the Perſon of another in an exceſs of admiration, whether for Greatneſs or Richneſs, *&c.* which we are ſubject to adore, we are ſaid to Idolize him; and therefore the wiſe *Venetians*, who, of all Men, are moſt Jealous of their Liberty, conſidering, that as the Nature of Man is not prone to any thing more than the Adoration of Men, ſo nothing is more Deſtructive to Freedom, have, for preventing the Miſchiefs of it, made it Unlawful, even ſo much as to Mourn for their Duke at his Death: Intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends

depends not upon the uncertain Thred of any one Man's Life, but upon the Vertue of their good Laws and Orders well executed, and that they can never want vertuous Perſons to ſucceed: And how do ſuch Principles in Men, led by little more than Morality, reprove thoſe who have a great meaſure of Goſpel-light, for their ſenſleſs Exceſs, in their adoring the remembrance of *Cromwell*? For as the Objects of Idolatry are Miſtaken Creatures, or things proceeding ſometimes from Self-love, ſo well as other Cauſes; So the undeſerved Approbation and Applauſe, that *Cromwell*'s Memory ſeems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little leſs than the Idolizing of him, appears to me, to be the product of an exceſſive Veneration of Greatneſs, and a Selfiſh Partiality towards him; for that the more Honour is given to him, the more Praiſe they think will conſequently redound to them who were his Favourites; and they fortifie themſelves herein, with the Credit they ſay he hath abroad, though there is little in that, becauſe the opinion that Strangers have of him, may well be put upon the accompt of their Ignorance in the Affairs of *England*, which Travellers do find to be ſo great, even amongſt Miniſters of State, as is to be admired. And now as this Error in Idolizing *Oliver* hath two Moral Evils in it, (beſides the ſin in it ſelf:) The one a Reflection upon the preſent Times, as if the former were better than theſe. And the other the unjuſt Defrauding the *Long Parliament* of that which is due to them, to give it Idolatrouſly to him to whom it doth not belong;

belong; I eſteem it a Duty incumbent upon me, to diſcover the Miſtake. I am not inſenſible, that I ſhall by this, drawn the Envy of thoſe upon me, who being Jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their *Diana*; but knowing my ſelf clear from the Vices of Envying Vertue in any, how contrary ſoever he may be to me in Judgment, ſo well as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will caſt my ſelf upon Providence for the Succeſs of this Paper; and in reference to *Cromwell*'s Government, and the preſent times, make ſome Obſervations relating to both; and, in order thereunto, ſhew,

Firſt, That the Original Cauſe of the low Condition that we are now (in relation to Trade) reduced unto, had its beginning in *Oliver*'s time, and the Foundations of it laid, either by his ignorant miſtaking the Intereſt of this Kingdom, or willfully doing it, for the Advancement of his own particular Intereſt.

Secondly, That his time, for the ſhort continuance, had as much of Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, as any former times.

Thirdly and laſtly, That he never in his later days, valued either Honour or Honeſty, when they ſtood in the way of his Ambition; and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though ſo much Idolized) but that the Partiality of the World ſhould make him ſo great a Favourite of Ignorance and Forgetfulneſs, as he ſeems to be.

When

When this late Tyrant, or Protector, (as ſome call him) turned out the *Long Parliament*, the Kingdom was arrived at the higheſt pitch of Trade, Wealth and Honour, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The Trade appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, Nine hundred thouſand Pounds a year being refuſed. The Riches of the Nation ſhewed it ſelf, in the high Value that Land and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain Marks of Opulency. Our Honour was made known to all the World, by a Conquering Navy, which had brought the *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to beg Peace of us upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in awe. And beſides theſe Advantages, the Publick Stock was Five hundred thouſand Pounds in ready Money, the value of Seven hundred thouſand Pounds in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, ſome Four, and none under Two Months; ſo that though there might be a Debt of near Five hundred thouſand Pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flouriſhing and formidable Poſture, *Cromwell* began his Uſurpation, upon the greateſt Advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made Peace and profitable Leagues, in what manner he had pleaſed, with all our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the Friendſhip of *England*; but, as if the Lord had infatuated and deprived him of common Senſe and Reaſon, he neglected all our Golden Oppor-

vide the 16th page in the Duke and
inadvertions on the Duke of Buckingh
hams letter to Sr Thomas Osborn,

Secondly, His Falſeneſs and Ingratitude appeared Superlatively in turning out his Maſters, who had not only advanced him, but made themſelves the more odious by their partial Affection towards him, and in his doing it, with the breach of a Poſitive Negative Oath, taken once a year, when made a Counſellor of State, beſides the breach of all other Ingagements, Voluntary Imprecations, Proteſtations and Oaths, taken frequently upon all occaſions in Diſcourſe and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and expoſed them to the Fury of the People, in purſuing them with falſe reproachful Declarations, enough to have ſtirred up the rude multitude to have deſtroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, His want of Honour, ſo well as Honeſty, appeareth yet further, in that having, by a long Series of a ſeeming pious Deportment, gained, by his Diſſimulation, good thoughts in his Maſters, the Long Parliament, and by his Spiritual Gifts, winded himſelf into ſo good an opinion with the Soldiers, (Men generally of plain Breeding, that knew little beſides their Military Trade, and Religious Exerciſes) that he could impoſe, in Matters of Buſineſs, what Belief he pleaſed upon them; he made uſe of the Credit he had with each, to abuſe both, by many vile Practices for making himſelf Popular, & the Parliament and Army odious to one another; and becauſe the Artifices he uſed are too many to enumerate, I ſhall but inſtance in ſome few; As his ſly complaining Inſinuations againſt the Army to the Parliament, and againſt them to

the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliaments giving Rewards to his Creatures, and then whispering Complaints amongst his Officers of their ill Husbandry. His obstructing the House in their business, by long drawling Speeches, and other ways, and then complaining of them to his Soldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was good: His giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise with any, except for his own Advantage, & then excusing all with Forgetfulness: And his deserting his Major Generals in their Decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he only had set them at work, because questioned by his Assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c. I would not be understood to remember any thing here, in Favour of the Long Parliament, for what might be Wicked in him, might be Just as to them; And though, if what he did, had been for the Restauration of his Majesty, he might have been excused, yet being for his own Single Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Person to be truly admired for nothing but Apostasie and Ambition, and exceeding *Tiberius* in Dissimulation. I am not ignorant, that some think it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in Peace Four years and nine months; but that hath little in it, his Majesty having done the like, almost double his time, since his Return, with one fifth part of that number of Soldiers which he commanded; though he hath also had the trouble of pressing, and sometimes forcing Uniformity in Religion, which he found under several Forms; whereas *Oliver* kept the Nation purposely divided in

Opinions,

Opinions, and himself of no declared Judgment, as the securest way of ingaging all several Perswasions equally to him; which Artifice, together with his leaving the Church Lands alienated as he found them, were all the true Principles of Policy that I know of, which he kept unto. The Honesty of these Principles, I refer to the judgment of every Man's Conscience; but if we may judge of things by Experience and Success, they seem to have been very happy in the World; For in comparing the Condition of the Protestant Countries at present, to what they were in times of Popery, we shall find them abundantly more considerable now than formerly; for in taking a true Survey of the Reformed Dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion at all in largeness, to the Popish, and that there is nothing that keeps the Ballance betwixt the two Parties, but the Advantage that the first hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of *Rome*, and the latters being under it; For as the Church of *Rome's* Mercies are (by their Principles) Cruelties, so had they power answerable to the natural Richness of the Soil of their Countries, and extent of their Territories, they would long e're this have swallowed up the Protestant Churches, and made Bonfires of their Members; but as God, in his Mercy and Wisdom, hath by his Over-ruling Hand of Providence, preserved his Church; so for the Romish Churches Inability to effect that which they have Will and Malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural Reasons.

First, There being generally of the Popish Countries, above one Moyety belonging to Church-men, Monks, Fryars and Nuns, who, like Droans,

ſpend the Fat of the Land, without contributing any thing to the good of Mankind, renders them much the leſs conſiderable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all theſe Sorts and Orders, occaſions great want of People every where, (they being uncapable of any Children but thoſe of Darkneſs) except in *France*, which is an extraordinary Caſe, proceeding partly by not being ſo ſubject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that belief are; but eſpecially from the Multitude of Proteſtants that are among them.

Thirdly, The blind Devotion of theſe People, carrying them on to vaſt Expences, in the Building and richly adorning of many needleſs and ſuperfluous Churches, Chapels and Croſſes, *&c.* with the making chargeable Preſents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meaner ſort, to their Idols, keeps all degrees under.

Fourthly, The many Holidays, upon which the labouring Man is forbidden to work, adds much to their Poverty.

But Fifthly and Laſtly, The vaſt number of Beging Friars, who living Idly, and purely upon the Sweat of other Mens Brows, without taking any labour themſelves, makes it impoſſible for the lower ſort of People, who think they are bound in Conſcience to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condition. Now whoſoever ſhall ſeriouſly weigh and ponder theſe Circumſtances, under which the Popiſh Countries lye, and conſider the Reformeds Advantage in being free from them, muſt confeſs it the leſs wonder, that the Evangelical Princes and States, with their ſmall Dominions, compared to the others Great, are able to bear up againſt them; and now as the Alienation of Church-

Church-lands, the turning out the Romish Vermin, the Priests, Monks, Friars and Nuns, (who devour all Countries wherever they come) and freedom from the Popish Imposition upon Conscience, hath mightily increased the Greatness of the Protestant Princes and States, to what they antiently were, and the not doing the same in the Popish Countries, keeps those Princes under; so, even amongst the Reformed, where the Church-lands are most alienated, and Liberty of Conscience most given, they prosper most, as in *Holland*, and some parts of *Germany*, with other places. And I dare undertake to be a Prophet in this, That if ever any Protestant Country should be so far forsaken of the Lord, as to be suffered to turn unto Popery, these Observations will be made good in their visible loss of the Splendor, Riches, Power and Greatness, that they now know.

Had *Cromwell* been a Person of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been less Scandalous; but having been a Professor of Religion, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be consistent with Religion, to palliate them which have been of so much offence, and (as may be feared) made so many Atheists in the World: And I cannot but stand amazed, when I hear him extolled by some, not ignorant of his Practices, knowing in Religion, and (as I hope) fearing God.

Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured or disobliged by *Oliver*; but I can with Truth affirm, I never received either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than in Common with the whole Kingdom (which I think may be allowed to render me the more a Competent Judge in his Case,) and that I am so far from being moved

moved unto this, out of any quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned, some few of many Injustices and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his short time, if I were conscious of any thing more, during his Protectorship, worthy applause, than I have here mentioned, I should not envy it him, but freely remember it; and if any think I have not said enough on his behalf, and too much to his disadvantage, I have this for my Buckler, that I wish I could have said more for him, and had known less against him; professing, that besides what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one Action in all his Four years and nine months time, done either Wisely, Vertuously, or for the Interest of this Kingdom; and therefore that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be pardoned by my Readers.

Much more might be said upon this Subject, but this may suffice to shew, that if *Mazerine* (at the hearing of *Oliver*'s death) thought he had then reason for calling him a Fortunate Fool, if he were now living he would find more Cause for it, *Cromwell*'s Lot as to Reputation, having been exceedingly much greater since his Death, than whilst he was in the World: And that from forgetfulness of his Impolitick Government, (from whose Entrance we may date the Commencement of our Trades decay,) And (through want of Memory) in Mens giving to him the Cause of our former Wealth and Prosperity, which truly belonged to others. But what Opinion soever *Mazerine* may have had of *Oliver*, he was without all peradventure a Person of more than ordinary Wit, and no otherwise a Fool than as he wanted Honesty, no Man being wise but an Honest Man.

FINIS.